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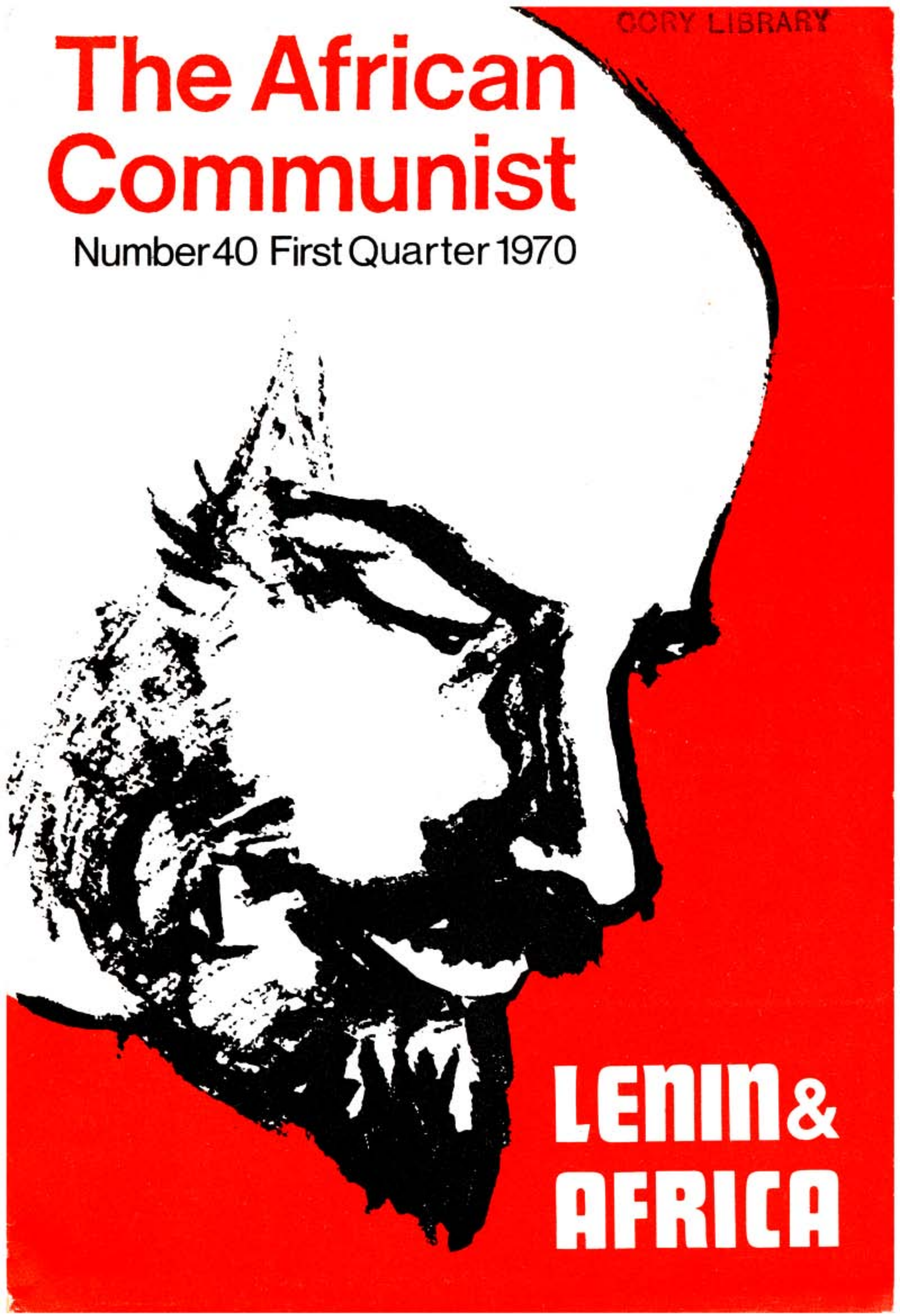

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THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

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No. 40 First Quarter 1970

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Editorial Notes:

INHUMANITY

Recently the world's newspapers have been filled with gruesome reports and pictures of the massacre of Son My, the Vietnam village where on March 16, 1968, American troops deliberately murdered over 500 people, including women and children in cold blood.

Perhaps because of the horrifying detail, and because the reports emanate from American sources the facts about this atrocity have brought home more sharply than all the statistics the appalling nature of the U.S. war against the people of Vietnam.

Like Sharpeville, like Belsen and Buchenwald, like Hiroshima, this incident has profoundly shocked the feelings of ordinary decent people everywhere.

All these examples of twentieth-century barbarism have features in common. They were acts committed by countries with a highly-developed technology who imagine that technological advancement is synonymous with civilisation. Their ruling classes, in search of profit and power, deliberately inculcated wide sections of the population with

the concepts of racial arrogance, with the belief that they have a mission to 'civilise' and rule others.

Those who come to believe that others are less than human become themselves inhuman.

The Nazis infected wide strata of the German people with the idea that they were the 'master-race' and the Jews and other 'non-Aryans' were not really people at all. The white South Africans have been taught to regard those whom they contemptuously refer to as 'kaffirs' and 'coolies' as non-persons. And the same goes for the white Americans in relation to Asians and Africans; to the Zionists in relation to the Arabs.

These people like to refer to Africans as 'savages' – but who are the real savages?

Another shocking mine disaster takes place in South Africa, claiming scores of African lives. There is no outcry. The white reader takes in the news with his breakfast – the names of the African victims are not even recorded– and shrugs his shoulders. After all, they are 'only natives.'

Israeli soldiers deliberately annihilate homes, drive millions from their lands and villages. How can those who have suffered so much persecution in their history do this? Because they have been brain-washed into considering Arabs as inferiors, and in the process have been brutalised themselves.

These things, like the U.S. atrocities in Vietnam, of which Son My is but a single example among thousands, are the results of what the 1969 Moscow Communist Statement correctly describes as the 'man-hating ideology and practices of racialism.'

The statement continues by pointing out the close connexion between this disgusting ideology and imperialism. 'The eradication of racialism,' it points out, 'is closely connected with the struggle against imperialism and its ideological foundations.

It is good that the murderers of the people of Son My are being brought to book and their deeds exposed to the world. But what is really on trial is imperialism and its ideology of racialism and anti-Communism.

Only one verdict is possible.

Immediately, the U.S. imperialists must quit Vietnam at once and leave the Vietnamese people to rebuild their devastated country under a government and along ways of their own choice.

For the future: if we are not to witness more Son Mys, Sharpevilles, Buchenwalds and Hiroshimas, the freedom-loving people of the whole world must unite in struggle against imperialism and racialism, for peace, national liberation and socialism.

A DISTURBING 'MANIFESTO'

Meeting in Lusaka in April last the representatives of fourteen states of East and Central Africa* adopted a 'Manifesto' on the future of Southern Africa. At first reading there does not seem to be anything remarkable about this document. Naturally, as one could only expect from African leaders, it condemns colonialism and racial discrimination in Southern Africa on the basis of our commitment to human equality and human dignity.' 'We are working for the right of self-determination for the people of these territories.' The document expresses a preference for the method of negotiation to achieve this right, 'without physical violence.' But adds that while peaceful progress is blocked, 'we have no choice' but to support the people's struggle against their opressors.

The document proceeds to deal with each territory. It declares, briefly, that Portugal should quit its African colonies; that Rhodesia should enjoy independence on the basis of majority rule; that South West Africa which 'remains in the clutches of the most ruthless minority government in Africa' should be enabled to achieve self-determination and independence. The Republic of South Africa is roundly condemned for its system of government and society 'based on the denial of human equality and .... maintained by a ruthless denial of the human rights of the majority.

So far so good. If all of these things have been said before, in documents of the O.A.U., the U.N. and many others, one could well argue that there is no harm in repeating them; indeed that they cannot be said too often. And if the studiously 'moderate' and low-pitched tone seems hardly appropriate to the sort of rousing call one might expect from a document styling itself a 'manifesto', some might argue that it does not always help one's cause to shout at the top of one's voice.

But there are some curious things about this 'manifesto' – not least of which is the big stir being made about it at the United Nations and elsewhere by those not noted for their devotion to African liberation – which should cause all concerned to have a hard second look at it.

Why, we must ask, is it just **now** that these African states are suddenly re-opening the question of a preference for 'methods of negotiation'? **Now**, when all these anti-African regimes are exposed to all the world as maintaining their rule only by the continued exercise of force and terror, by 'physical violence' against the majority? **Now**, when after decades of incredibly long-suffering attempts to seek some

* The conference was attended by the representatives of Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Malawi, Congo (Kinshasa), Congo (Brazzaville), Somalia, Burundi, Central African Republic, Sudan, Tanzania, Chad, Uganda and Zambia.

non-violent path, the liberation movements of all these territories have of one accord decided upon and launched armed revolutionary struggles against the oppressors?

These heroic struggles have raised the enthusiasm of all patriotic Africans to a high degree, hardly reflected in the document which negatively and apparently with some reluctance declares that 'we have no choice' but to support this struggle. But this concession is itself hedged around with reservations. Even in the glaring case of Portugal we find this strange formulation:' . . . if Portugal should change her policy and accept the principle of self-determination, **we would urge the Liberation movements to desist from their armed struggle.**' Frankly we find this presumption to advise on the part of leaders who acceeded to formal independence without, for the most part, a fraction of the torment of their brothers in the South, insufferably patronising and even arrogant. More it is misleading and could be demoralising to those brave patriots who have taken up arms and sworn never to lay them down until Africa is freed from Portuguese colonialism. Where is there the slightest indication that Portugal will change her policy? If she ever does we may be sure it will be because of the valiant freedom-fighters of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. And it will be they, and only they, who will decide when and under what conditions of Portuguese withdrawal the fighting shall cease.

There is another strange and deeply disturbing passage concerning the consistent backing given to Portugal in her colonial wars by her NATO allies. This fascist state, it is said, 'naturally has its own allies in the context of the ideological conflict between West and East.' The effect of this is 'that Portugal is enabled to pursue the most heinous war . . in Africa.' Not a word, mark you, in condemnation of Portugal's imperialist allies in backing her in this war. Instead a sort of back-handed compliment: Portugal's crimes are said to be 'diametrically opposed to the politics, the philosophies and the doctrines practised by her Allies.' Indeed! One would hardly imagine that every country represented was but yesterday subjugated by the same sort of 'heinous war and degradation of man,' by these self-same highly-principled and philosophical 'Allies': Britain, France, Belgium, Italy. Or that the chiefest 'Ally' is presently engaged in the most ruthless and inhuman of all colonial wars against our brothers in Vietnam. Is it really true that, as this sorry 'manifesto' would have it, Portugal and NATO's war against Africa is 'irrelevant to the ideological conflict.'?

The same flabby and servile attitude towards imperialism appears in other sections of this document as well. The question, we are told, is 'whether Britain will reassert her authority in Rhodesia and then negotiate the peaceful progress to majority rule before independence.'

True, it is added that 'until there is some firm evidence that Britain' will act to assert majority rule Africa has (again) 'no choice' but to support the revolution in Zimbabwe. But what gives the signatories the idea that there is any possibility that British imperialism, whether under a Labour or Tory administration, has the slightest intention of risking a confrontation with Vorster over Rhodesia? Or that it cares about majority rule anyway? Any confidence anyone in Africa had that the imperialists were seriously concerned with our rights have long disappeared and such passages merely emphasise how out of date and out of touch its drafters were. We are told that the 'Rhodesian problem' is a British responsibility and South-West Africa a 'United Nations responsibility'. In a rhetorical sense, perhaps. But both formulations merely cover up the fact that behind British and U.N. ineffectiveness in Zimbabwe and Nambia lie the sordid motives of big profits and dividends for those in 'the West' whose 'ideological conflict' is by no means so 'irrelevant' as this document pretends.

Perhaps the most sinister phrase in this wordy 'manifesto' comes near the end, about South Africa. It proposes, correctly enough, that the Republic be excluded from United Nations Agencies and 'even from the United Nations itself.' BUT it says this should be done *'even if international law is held to exclude active assistance to the South African opponents of apartheid.'* Who, until now, has even suggested that it is illegal to help South Africa's fighters for human freedom and dignity? Is this perhaps the first shot in a campaign? How could African leaders—well, Banda, maybe: but Nyerere, Kaunda – have been conned into signing this treacherous sentence?

A few months before the Lusaka meeting, a conference was held in Khartoum on this theme of Southern Africa.

More than fifty countries were represented—but unfortunately and conspicuously—none from the fourteen states who were represented at Lusaka.

But, present and consulted at every stage at Khartoum and **not** at Lusaka were the six national liberation movements of the countries directly concerned: the African National Congress of South Africa, the FRELIMO of Mozambique, the MPLA of Angola, the PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau SWAPO of Namibia and ZAPU of Zimbabwe.

The Declaration of Khartoum* makes an instructive contrast with the so-called Lusaka Manifesto. It forthrightly condemns imperialism for its open and concealed support of the racist and colonialist regimes of Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies, which it describes as 'a grave menace to the neighbouring African countries and ultimately to

* See THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST No. 37, Second Quarter 1969

the independence of every African state.'

It declares 'fervent and unequivocal support for the freedom fighters of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa' and calls on the anti-imperialist forces of the whole world 'to back the armed struggles which have been forced upon them as the only possible alternative to slavery for the forseeable future.'

That is the sort of language we were entitled to expect from the leaders who met at Lusaka on the subject of Southern Africa. Their failure to speak out unequivocally can only arouse lively apprehensions of a real, and not merely a verbal sell-out.

BOSS STRIKES AGAIN

Imam Abdulla Haroun was a loved and respected leader of the Muslim community in Cape Town, a member of the Muslim Judicial Council and Editor of the newspaper *Muslim News*. He was arrested under South Africa's notorious 'Terrorism Act' and detained for four months. While still under detention—he had not been charged with any offence—he died. When arrested he was in the best of health, but as usual the post mortem on him reached the conclusion: 'death from natural causes.'

This is the latest in a long list of similar cases which began when the '90-day' detention-without trial became law in 1963. Its first heroic victim was Looksmart Ngudle Solwandle, who chose death rather than betray his comrades.

These murders follow a now sickening pattern. Consider the following cases in 1969 alone:

On February 25 Solomon Modipane was detained. On February 28 he was dead—'from natural causes', reported the Special Branch. James Lenkoe was detained on March 5 and 'found hanging in his cell' on March 10. On May 13 Caleb Mayekiso was detained. On June 1 he was dead— allegedly 'from natural causes.' On September 11 Jacob Monnakgotla, held in detention under the 'Terrorism Act' and due to appear in court next day with nine other Africans, died. 'Of natural causes,' it was said.

The 1969 law renaming the Special Branch the Bureau of State Security ('BOSS') and vastly extending its powers, is designed to see that such cases are not even reported in the South African press. (See Editorial Note 'A Murderers' Charter' in our last issue.) Two clauses vitally affecting the operations of BOSS were slipped into the General Laws Amendment Act just before last sitting of the Cape Town 'Parliament.'. One of them amended the Official Secrets Act making it an offence punishable by seven years imprisonment to disclose any

'security matter.' The second authorised the Prime Minister or his nominee to prohibit the giving of any evidence or the production of any document to any court if it would be, in his opinion, 'prejudicial to the interests of the state or public security.'

By such means the South African followers of Hitler are trying to pave the way to the sort of activities that took place in the bunkers of Buchenwald and other concentration camps, and to bury their crimes under secrecy.

The South African people and their friends throughout the world dare not and will not allow these facts to be concealed. The world will not rest until all South African political prisoners are released, and all those laws repealed which allow the neo-Nazi government of the Republic of South Africa to detain at will its political opponents in solitary confinement without access to lawyers or visitors or even a magistrate, at the mercy of the torturers and murderers of the Special Branch and the Bureau of State Security.

We cannot bring back to life the brave men like Imam Haroun and many another who have been murdered; but we vow once again never to rest until their murderers have been brought to book and their ideals of a free South Africa vindicated.

CABORA-BASSA

The scheme to build the biggest hydro-electric dam in all Africa on the Zambesi River at Cabora-Bassa in the Tete Province of Mozambique promises to become one of the most important points of conflict between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in Southern Africa. The project involves a plan to settle no fewer than one million white settlers in Tete in the next ten years, and the generation of sufficient electric power to bring Africa as far as the Congo and Tanzania within the economic clutches of the Unholy Alliance. Frelimo, the Mozambique liberation organisation, is already concentrating guerilla troops in the area, with the avowed aim of putting a stop to the construction of the dam.

The project was originally conceived, it seems, as a response to the growing successes of Frelimo's guerillas. The idea was to create a heavily white-settled belt across the centre of Mozambique, against the Liberation army's drive south. Part of the early discussions between S.A. and Portugal on the subject, according to Frelimo, was an agreement for S.A. troops to be used in Tete. But the plan only really got under way when S.A. became seriously interested in the strategic position of Tete Province, which juts west into Central Africa, bordering Rhodesia, Malawi and Zambia, and enclosing the Zambesi river

valley between Kariba and the sea. When the S.A. ESCOM (Electricity Supply Commission) agreed to buy the bulk of the current to be generated by the dam, Cabora-Bassa began to look like economic sense.

Against competition from French and British-led consortia, a South African-dominated consortium, ZAMCO, won the contract for building the dam, in 1968. ZAMCO turns out to be none other than a reincarnation of our old enemy, the Anglo-American Corporation, together with its assorted French, West German, Portuguese and South African allies. Among these are Siemens of West Germany (supplying terminal station and generating equipment) and the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas – on the Board, Harry Oppenheimer– raising financial backing.

Among them also was the Swedish company ASEA, manufacturers of an advanced system for transmitting direct current over distances. An intense and angry campaign by anti-apartheid forces in Sweden, however, embarrassed the company into withdrawing from the consortium at the beginning of September 1969, on the ground that it might be itself open to prosecution under Sweden's legislation on sanctions against Rhodesia. The British company, GEC-AEI, apparently with British government encouragement, is manoeuvering to take ASEA's place.

Whatever the legal position, the fact is that Cabora-Bassa is of immense significance to Rhodesia, as to the other members of the white alliance. Though the supply line is to run to South Africa meticulously along the Mozambique side of the border, Rhodesia is a potential buyer of power. More than this, the scheme involves making the Zambesi River navigable for 516 miles to the river mouth north of Beira, thus greatly improving the country's communication with the coast. And in the short run, it has already been made clear that Rhodesia is to be a main supplier of materials to the dam. The Rhodesian share market took a leap the moment the announcement was made in September 1969 that the scheme was to go ahead; and the National Export Council in a booklet advising Rhodesia businessmen on how to take advantage of the plan, calls the Cabora-Bassa probably one of the greatest opportunities ever to come the way of Rhodesian manufacturers'.

When the first phase of the dam is complete in 1974, it is to generate 1,200 megawatts, almost twice the output of Kariba. When it is complete, its peak load will be greater than the 2,200 megawatts planned for the Aswan High Dam. 750 Europeans and 3,000 Africans are to be employed on the construction, housing is already nearing completion, together with canteen and recreation facilities, schools, churches, shopping centres, and new roads. Police detachments guard the area, and unknown military forces, both Portuguese and South African are not

far away.

White Southern Africa is staking a great deal in Cabora-Bassa, as a line of defence against the guerrillas, and as a potential 'African Ruhr', a power centre around which a steel industry and a whole complex of subsidiary industries will spring up, a new economic magnet to drag more and more of Africa into its field. The current, expected to be available at rates temptingly cheaper than any competitive scheme, could be piped to Zambia, the Congo, Tanzania and beyond. The profits, for the international companies that are rushing to involve themselves, should be considerable: the estimated cost is already over £300m.

It is in recognition of the scale of the enemy's ambitions that Frelimo is concentrating its energies in Tete today. The enemy is scared—the reported 3 battalions of South African troops alone bears witness. The coming months will see a growing and crucial, confrontation.

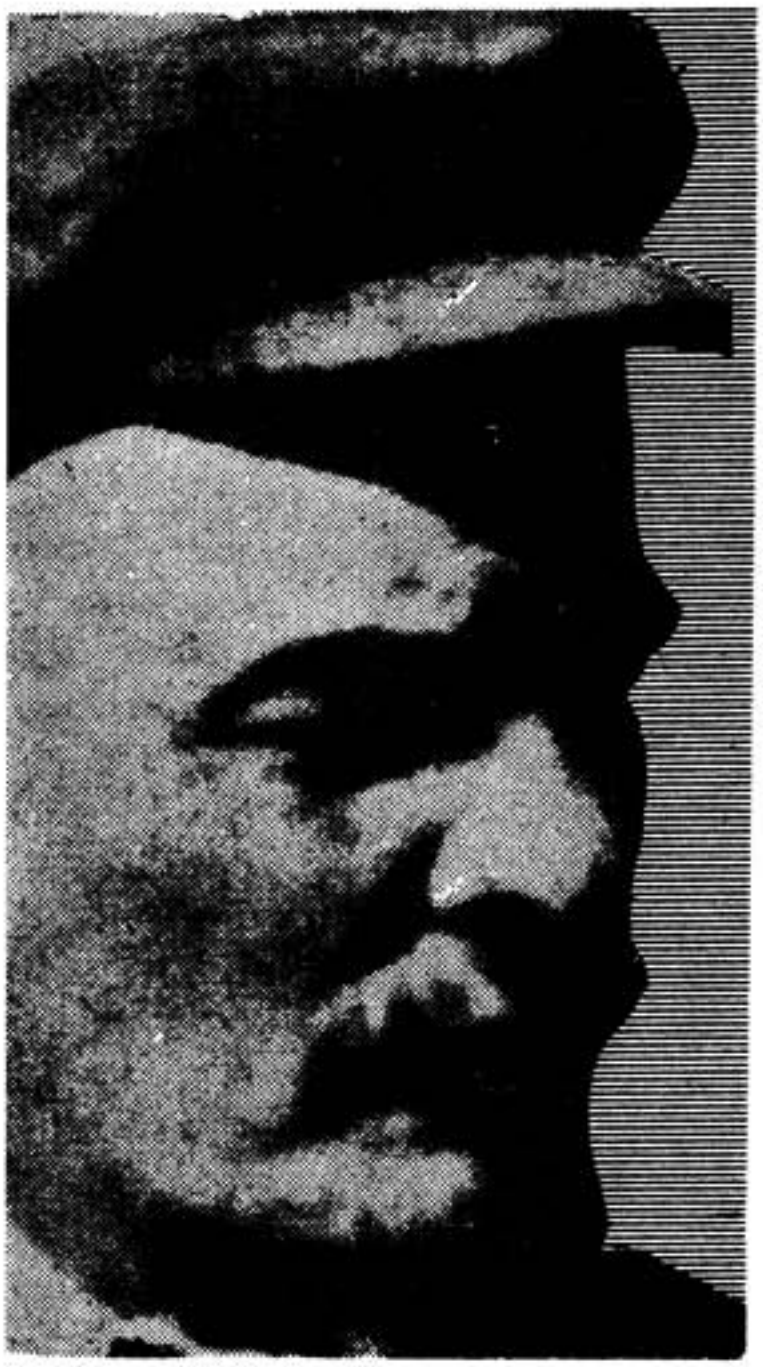
WHITE IMMIGRATION

At the World Trade Union Congress in Budapest in October, Mr. Mark Shope on behalf of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) drew the attention of delegates sharply to the problem of emigration of skilled workers from Europe to South Africa. 'Our workers', he said 'regard skilled workers who migrate to South Africa as willing accomplices of apartheid. They not only do jobs which thousands of our non-white workers are perfectly capable of doing, but they also go there to help maintain white supremacy.' Too true. Non-white South Africans are capable. But they are prevented from doing the job by the colour bar which closes all skilled jobs to them. Immigrants—white—who go to South Africa only help to maintain that colour barrier and make it workable.

Even so, immigration is proving inadequate for the needs of South African capitalism. In the statements of business and financial leaders a note of panic, almost hysteria, is beginning to develop over what is termed the 'skilled labour shortage' – for which read 'shortage of white workers.' The shortage is becoming chronic in South African industry, which has grown rapidly in the past decade, and is most acute in the building trade. Despite the panic fear that the shortage of white manpower will bring the spiralling growth to a grinding halt, no one dares propose seriously the only sensible solution—abolish the colour bar in skilled jobs! Instead the pundits cast about for magical solutions. Ministers of State talk about 'border industries' as a solution; officials of the Building Employers Federation about giving white workers a

guaranteed, life-time priority to all privileged jobs if only they let non-whites do some skilled work– at lower wages naturally. No one believes any of this can work. In fact there are only two workable palliatives for South Africa's needs. One is to import white artisans and managerial staff; the other is to bring non-whites in surreptitiously, at 'unskilled' wages rates while denying behemently that any such thing is being done. In fact, both are being done. And every immigrant from Europe who allows himself to be lured by glossy South Africa House advertising about the gold-paved paradise is helping to keep the ramshackle apartheid house of cards upright.

Where do the immigrants come from? Mainly from the United Kingdom, – 16,ooo in 1968, and their numbers are rising. After that, West Germany, followed by Italy. Only the blind will believe that they will enable apartheid to stave off for long the inevitable day of decision for white South Africa, when it will have to decide to break the industrial colour bar or stagnate as a country. But even so, those immigrants who go to South Africa now delay the day when the people of South Africa will win their birthright in their own land. For this, South Africans will remember them; and will treat them as the allies of apartheid and oppression, whatever the liberality of their private views. It is for this reason that Mr. Shope appealed to the trade union delegates from Western Europe who were present in Budapest: 'Tell your members that is they go to South Africa they are going to a country where men are fighting for their freedom; and they will be given guns and told to fight against our people.' Without doubt it will come to that. The days when white workers could stand aside on the sidelines of South Africa's conflict, making money, not participating, are drawing in. As armed conflict and struggle grow, every white is drawn into the state military machine, as soldier, supplier or administrator. The immigrants from Britain, Germany and elsewhere included. It is high time that their trade unions in those countries campaigned against migration of their members to South Africa. This is demanded not only by considerations of solidarity with South Africa's non-white workers, but by the long term interests of the European workers and would-be emigrants themselves.



LENIN AND AFRICA

Terence Africanus

1970 will be commemorated all over the world as the centenary year of the birth on April 22, 1870 of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the greatest revolutionary of our time. More than any other man of the twentieth century, Lenin changed the history and thought of our epoch.

Founder of the Bolshevik Party (now the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) Lenin's main concern as a practical revolutionary was the victory of the Russian workers and peasants over the vicious tsarist tyranny. The Great October Revolution of 1917 was the greatest vindication of his life's work, and the Union of Socialist Republics stands today his living monument. Had he accomplished nothing else, the transformation of Russia through the world's first socialist revolution, with all its still continuing consequences for mankind, would have secured for Lenin an honoured and permanent place in history.

But in fact, he did far more.

Lenin was a foremost adherent and defender of the concepts of revolutionary socialism of Marx and Engels. But he did not treat Marxism as a collection of dogmas, formulae and aphorisms. He saw Marx's theory as a scientific weapon needing to be applied to the ever-new realities of time and place. By his creative approach he greatly enriched Marxism, in the conditions of the 20th Century world of modern monopoly-capitalism, imperialism, and in the theory and prac-

tice of the socialist revolution. There is no aspect of Marxist thought– its philosophy of dialectical materialism; its political economy; its theory of socialist revolution and workers' power – which was not developed by the genius of V.I. Lenin.

FOR INTERNATIONALISM - AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The African and other peoples oppressed by colonialism owe a special tribute to the memory of Vladimir Lenin. For he was the arch-enemy of imperialism, colonialism and racialism. In his brilliant work *Imperialism – The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin was the first to lay bare the essential features of modern imperialism in the growth of huge monopolies; the merging of industrial and financial capital; the export of capital to the colonies – the source of raw materials and cheap labour. During the clash of rival imperialisms over the 'right' to exploit millions of colonial slaves, Lenin mercilessly exposed the Social Democratic leaders who urged the workers to support their capitalist governments in defence of such 'rights'. He called upon the workers rather to fight against the imperialists and to unite with the oppressed colonial millions in a convergent world revolutionary movement for socialism and national liberation.

It was Lenin who in the earliest days of the Communist International proposed to add to the famous slogan of Marx and Engels, to read *'Workers of All Countries and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!'* This remarkable fact is an indication of the tremendous importance he attached to the national liberation movements of the millions of peoples in those vast areas of the world which had been seized and plundered by imperialism. He saw clearly that the world socialist revolution was not only a fight between the workers of the advanced countries and their rulers, it was a far wider and deeper process involving a hard struggle in the colonies. Addressing a Congress of Communist Organisations in the East, in November 1919 he predicted that

> the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary preletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie–no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries against international imperialism. *(Collected Works, Vol. 30).*

Lenin fought bitterly against any signs of racialism that showed itself in the working class movement; and first and foremost against any tendencies towards 'great nation superiority' or patronage on the part of elements of the Russians themselves. Under his leadership the former tsarist empire, which he called a 'prison of nations' for the millions of non-Russians who inhabited it, was transformed into a family of free and equal nations in which the economy and cultures of the former

'colonial' regions was given every encouragement and assistance to develop.

The pre-war 'Socialist International' was dominated by reformist Labour and Social Democratic Parties, of the sort we are still all too familiar with today. Working within this international movement, Lenin and his colleagues of the Russian Bolshevik Party mercilessly exposed the crude racialist prejudices which their 'socialist' phrases hardly sufficed to conceal. He demanded the rights to self-determination and independance for all nations oppressed by colonialism. He declared:

> To believe that men who belong to oppressor nations and do not uphold the right of oppressed nations to self-determination are capable of following a socialist policy is ridiculous . . . . .
> Socialists must not only demand the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies without compensation . . . . but they must render determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation in these countries and assist their uprising – and if need be, their revolutionary war – against the imperialist powers that oppress them. *(The National Liberation Movement in the East).*

WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

A formidable contribution made by Lenin to the solution of the problems of the revolutionary movement in countries – such as those of Africa and Asia – where the revolutionary class of urban workers is in a minority, was his concept of the worker-peasant alliance.

One group of Russian revolutionaries, the 'Narodniks', opposing Marxism, held that the leading force of the Russian Socialist revolution would not be the workers but the peasant masses, who still retained elements of communal land-ownership.

Another group, the 'Mensheviks' while calling themselves Marxists, believed that the workers were too few numerically to lead the revolution, whereas they considered the peasantry themselves to be a conservative if not reactionary force. They therefore claimed that the class to lead the revolution were the Russian capitalists, while socialism could be postponed to the indefinite future.

In his polemical writings of the period, Lenin advanced the view that the workers in alliance with the revolutionary peasantry were the only class which could carry out a successful democratic revolution against tsarism and carry that alliance forward into a socialist revolution. This analysis was brilliantly confirmed by practice in the two Russian revolutions of 1917 when the Soviets (Councils) of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies united not only to overthrow the tsarist autocracy but to oust the capitalists and landlords as well. The alliance of workers

and peasants in the Soviet Union has held rock-firm throughout more than 50 years of history in which it has been subjected to the most severe strains of any modern state: civil wars and imperialist intervention; ceaseless subversion and blockades of one sort or another; the titanic struggle against the Nazi invasion of 1941-45 and its frightful toll of human and material resources.

AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

Lenin fought mercilessly against wooliness of thought and against the opportunism which thrives on confusion and 'diplomacy' within the revolutionary movement. Thousands of rank-and-filers knew him as a kind and modest comrade, but against those who sought to sidetrack the movement from its course or compromise its revolutionary principles, the sword of his keen intellect was ever unsheathed. And he was not content merely to expose error; once it became a widespread tendency, a characteristic of a group of leaders, Lenin, using the Marxist methods of analysis, traced it to its class and economic origin. For Lenin, the conduct of polemics was not merely an exercise in the art of debate, but a truly educational demonstration of Marxist criticism.

Thus, for example, he traced the Right Wing deviations and betrayals of the European Social–Democratic leaders to their roots. Imperialism, by virtue of the super-profits of colonial exploitation, could afford to bribe a section of the metropolitan working class to support, as 'junior partners', the maintenance of the capitalist and colonial system. This factor, and not merely confused thinking or personal corruption, explained this phenomenon which led to the collapse of the Second International in the 1914-1918 war.

Again, in his masterly analysis of 'Left' opportunism, 'revolutionary' phrase-mongering and the like, which so afflicts us in the colonial and ex-colonial countries, Lenin did not stop short at exposing the errors of those 'ultra-revolutionaries' who are ever attacking the vanguard for not being revolutionary enough for their liking. In his classic writing on this theme, insisting on the utmost flexibility of tactics, combined with firmness of principle, he showed how the 'ultra-leftists' reflected the social position of a particular group.

> Bolshevism took shape, developed and became steeled in the long years of struggle against petty-bourgeois revolutionism, which smacks of anarchism, or borrows something from the latter and, in all essential matters, does not measure up to the conditions and requirements of a consistently prole-

> tarian class struggle . . . . The petty proprietor, the small master. . . who, under capitalism, always suffers oppression and very frequently, a most acute and rapid deterioration in his conditions of life, and even ruin, easily goes to revolutionary extremes, but is incapable of perseverance, organisation, discipline and steadfastness. A petty bourgeois driven to frenzy by the horrors of capitalism is a social phenomenon which like anarchism, is characteristic of all capitalist countries. The instability of such revolutionism its barrenness, and its tendency to turn rapidly into submission, apathy, phantasms, and even a frenzied infatuation with one bourgeois fad or another – all this is common knowledge. *('Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder.)*

ALLIANCES

In the same book, Lenin developed the concept of alliances which is essential, if not to parlour-revolutionaries proud of standing in 'glorious isolation', at any rate to every revolutionary party or movement seriously aiming at the conquest of state power. Discussing the slogan 'No Compromise!' he distinguished sharply between a proper refusal to compromise on principle, and a wholly improper refusal to consider compromises in one's tactics:

> To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, a war which is a hundred times more difficult, protracted and complex than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to renounce in advance any change of tack, or any utilisation of a conflict of interests (even if temporary) among one's enemies, or any concilliation or compromise with possible allies (even if they are temporary, unstable, vacillating or conditional allies) – is that not ridiculous in the extreme? *(Selected Works 1-Vol. ed. p.554).*

This concept of Lenin, of 'alliances' even with temporary allies, tested and developed in fifty years of experience of the international communist movement by such outstanding Marxist-Leninists as G. Dimitrov and others, has proved of infinite value to all Communists. And not least to the South African Communist Party.

INCALCULABLE DEBT

The working people of South Africa are under an incalculable debt to the ideas and principles of Lenin, which spread with ever-increasing impetus in our country after the victory of the October Revolution add, despite the bans imposed on Communist ideas since the fascist laws of 1950, continue to be a powerful influence today.

The old South African Labour Party, formed by the white trade unionists in 1910, was a part of the Second International. It shared the indifference or hostility of the British Labour Party and other West European Social-Democratic parties towards the national aspirations and struggles of the oppressed colonial peoples of Asia and Africa.

But within that Party there was a left-wing group, which like Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks stood firm on its inter nationalist principles and denounced the imperialist war of 1914-18. They formed the International Socialist League, later to become (in 1921) the principal force of the Communist Party of South Africa. But many of them carried into the new Party much of the opportunism on the national question which had characterised the Labour Party. For several years the C.P.S.A. paid little attention to the crucial issue of our country: the national democratic revolution. Lenin's thinking on the national question (directly conveyed as his writings became more generally available, and through the medium of the Communist International, of which he was the main architect) transformed the theory and practice of the Communist Party.

Addressing the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 Lenin had pointed out that

> The characteristic feature of imperialism consists in the whole world, as we now see, being divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces. The vast majority of the world's population... about 70 per cent.... belong to the oppressed nations, which are either in a state of direct colonial dependence or are semi-colonies, as, for example, Persia, Turkey and China, or else, conquered by some big imperialist power, have become greatly dependent on that power by virtue of peace treaties .... The second basic idea in our theses is that, in the present world situation following the imperialist war, reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world.

Lenin foresaw, with the foresight of genius that the victorious workers of the Soviet Union, the revolutionary workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movements in the colonial countries would merge into a single stream of world-wide revolution against imperialism.

The victory of these ideas made it possible for the Communist Party in South Africa to transform itself into the revolutionary vanguard of the fight against white colonialism and for national liberation.

NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

Upon the national liberation movement too, the African National Congress and its partners in the alliance, Lenin's thinking has had a profound influence. Like all such broad movements, naturally these,

include Communists and non-Communists alike. Throughout Africa, misled by imperialist propaganda, many nationalist leaders originally adopted hostile attitudes towards the Russian Revolution. But fifty years of bitter experience under colonialism and apartheid rule have served radically to modify such attitudes. Honest African patriots, irrespective of their personal outlook or philosophy, have had to recognise that the staunchest and most devoted fighters for African freedom are the Communists, the followers of Lenin. Facing trial for his life in the Rivonia trial of 1964, Nelson Mandela warmly defended the A.N.C. policy of co-operation with the Communist Party. 'Communists have always played an active role in the fight by colonial countries' he told the bourgeois court.

BY-PASSING CAPITALISM

Is it necessary for all countries, including those which have not yet entered or fully entered upon the capitalist stage, to traverse this before entering upon the building of socialism? Some self-styled 'Marxists', regarding the letter but not the spirit of Marxism, would have said 'yes; there can be no skipping of historical stages'.

Such a pedantic and bookish approach was far from the truly revolutionary, creative thinking of Lenin. He said:

> The question was posed as follows: are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance towards progress is to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, and the Soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their disposal – in that event it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development.
> *(The Second Congress of the Communist International)*

The past 50 years, and especially the experience of the formerly backward territories of the Soviet Union, of People's Mongolia, of Korea and Vietnam, have fully vindicated the correctness of this stand by Lenin. It is precisely because of this theoretical breakthrough that we can envisage the definite possibility of other African and Asian countries today pursuing a non-capitalist path of development towards socialism. It was in tribute to the liberating effect of this aspect that I. Elinewinga, representing TANU of Tanzania declared (at the International Symposium devoted to the Centenary of Lenin's birth, at Alma-Ata last October):

> Right now we are engaged in a deliberate and massive political education of all the leaders, peasants and workers and throughout our entire educational

system in Tanzania. Lenin's teachings are thoroughly studied at our institutions of higher learning.
Believing in the wisdom of great Lenin's conclusion that in our time the people who win liberation from colonial oppression can advance to socialism bypassing capitalism, we in Tanzania decided not to wait for the colonial robbers to build mock industries and capitalism in our motherland so as to give us the opportunity to build socialism in the traditional and classical procedure.

At the same symposium Dia El Din Dawood, a member of the Supreme Executive of the Arab Socialist Union (U.A.R.) paid this tribute

The October Revolution defined from the very outset its position of support for the national-liberation movements in colonial and semi-colonial countries, the position which speaks of the complete adherence to the principles evolved by Lenin.

Anyone studying the national-liberation movement and social progress at the present stage – more than 45 years after the death of the great Lenin– cannot but turn to his great teaching and heritage, to his famous books.

A number of other African leaders – Dr. Tunji Otegbeye of Nigeria, M. Piliso of the A.N.C., T.G. Silundika of ZAPU, Sam Nujoma of S.W.A.P.O., Judas Honwana of FRELIMO were also present on this memorable occasion and paid tribute to the memory of Lenin and the ever-living inspiration of his teachings.

REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTER

It is not at all strange that the leaders of African liberation movements, particularly those engaged in armed conflict against Portuguese and white South African colonialism, should thus pay homage to Lenin. For he himself was a fearless, consistent and fiery upholder of the cause of African freedom, and that of all the oppressed of the world. Lenin's notebooks compiled while he was working on his famous book *Imperialism– The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, are full of angry comments on the rape of our continent. Many of these were cited by the late Professor Potekhin ('Lenin and Africa', *African Communist* No.3, 1960).

Of the Italian colonial war against Libya in 1912 Lenin wrote: 'It was caused by the mercenary interests of the Italian finance tycoons and capitalists, who need a new market, who require successes for Italian imperialism. . . . It was an advanced civilised human massacre, the slaughter of the Arabs by the aid of the 'most up to date' weapons. . . It would take a long time yet to 'civilise' them by bayonet, bullet, the noose, fire and the raping of women'.

Cecil Rhodes is pithily epitomised as 'millionaire, finance king, chief

culprit of the Boer War', King Leopold II of Belgium: 'Businessman, financier, swindler, he bought the Congo for himself'.

Lenin consistently denounced the deeds of the imperialists in 'their' colonies and those wretched 'socialist' leaders who supported them. He went further and vigorously upheld the right of colonised people to fight for their freedom in armed struggle. He wrote

> National wars *against* imperialist powers are not only possible and probable they are inevitable and *progressive, revolutionary*.
> *(Collected Works,* Vol.22, p.298.

This attitude of Lenin's towards revolutionary and progressive wars sharply distinguishes his attitude from that of the well-meaning but ineffective pacifist.

Naturally, as a socialist internationalist Lenin hated the suffering and cruelty of warfare, and looked forward to an era in which war between nations and peoples will be a thing of the past, and all disputes settled by peaceful negotiation. He bitterly denounced the 1914-1918 war as an unjust, robbers' war on the part of both groups of contending imperialists. The very first act of the new Soviet government headed by Lenin in 1917 was a call upon all peoples engaged in the war to put an end to it and to enter upon a peace settlement on the principle 'no annexations and no indemnities.'

But, with equal vigour, he upheld the right of oppressed peoples to wage just wars of national emancipation. But how could such peoples, colonised peoples, poverty-striken and without modern arms or the means of manufacturing or obtaining them, hope successfully to challenge the military might of the advanced industrialised countries which had conquered them?

Lenin's answer indicated his characteristic confidence in the masses of the ordinary people, which pervades all of his writings. In the same speech cited above to the second congress of Communist organisations of the East, Lenin referred to the extraordinary feats of endurance and heroism on the part of the Soviet people and their young Red Army against the counter-revolutionary forces backed up by international imperialism. 'Here,' he said, 'we have practical proof that when a revolutionary war really does attract and interest the oppressed and toiling masses, when it makes them conscious that they are fighting the oppressors – such a revolutionary war engenders the power and ability to perform miracles.' He continued:

> I think that what the Red Army has accomplished, its struggle and the history of its victory, will be of colossal, epochal significance for all the peoples of the East. It will show the peoples of the East that, weak as they

> may be, and invincible as may seem the power of the European oppressors who in the struggle employ all the marvels of technology and of the military art– nevertheless, *a revolutionary waged by the oppressed peoples, if it really succeeds in arousing the millions of toilers and exploiters, harbours such potentialities, such miracles, that the emancipation of the peoples of the East is now quite practicable. . . .*

Lenin's confidence in the masses, and particularly the colonised people, has been and is being fully vindicated by history. In our time, the time of the African and Asian Revolutions, when hundreds of millions of people have challenged imperialism and won political independence, it is not so difficult for one to understand and believe. We have seen how the Chinese, Korean and other Eastern peoples successfully stood up to the allegedly invincible might of the imperialist countries with all their 'marvels of technology'. We have seen and are witnessing the unconquerable struggle of the small Asian nation of Vietnam, organised and led by Lenin's follower Ho Chi Minh, against first the French and now the American imperialists, equipped with all the 'marvels' of chemical and bacterial warfare and all the 'civilised' horrors of aerial bombardment and mechanised massacre. We shall soon see how the revolutionary war of the African peoples of the South, once it 'really succeeds in arousing the millions' will also release 'such potentialities, such miracles' as to bring to naught the seemingly invincible power of the European oppressors. I say it is not difficult for us to understand these things today, although heaven knows there are still faint-hearts and pessimists among us who see only the technology and hardware of the oppressor and are blind to the revolutionary potential of the masses and the fatal weaknesses at the heart of the enemy's position.

But to see these things in 1920, when the Soviet Union was itself still a beleaguered fortress fighting for its very survival; when imperialism still ruled by far the greater part of Asia and Africa in an apparently stable and indestructable system of colonialism – that required the foresight of genius.

VINDICATED BY HISTORY

The most important thing about the ideas and the work of V.I. Lenin, like those of Karl Marx before him, is that they have been vindicated and proved correct by the most exacting and severest test of all–the test of practice, of history. Following Marx, he held that the most important task of a thinker was not only to understand, but to change the world. In Lenin we find most perfectly exemplified that blending of theory and practice as an inseparable whole, that unity of thought and action, which characterise the Communist. So if we want to look at his achievement, we must not only study his books and speeches, we must

also look at the fruits of his work as a practical revolutionary, and in particular to the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement, to whose building Lenin contributed more than any other man.

It is not the purpose of this article to deal in detail with the fantastic progress which workers' rule and socialism has brought about in the Soviet Union. But a few facts and figures will help us to ender the immensity of the transformation that has taken place. Lenin and his colleagues who led the revolution in its early days repeatedly emphasised that only large-scale industrialisation could enable a socialist Russia to survive in a hostile, imperialist-dominated world.

The country they had inherited was very backward in such matters. It produced only 4,300,000 tons of steel a year, and most of that small steel industry was destroyed in the civil war. Today the Soviet Union produces a hundred millions tons a year, more than Britain, France, West Germany and Italy put together. It produces over 600,000 million kwh of electricity– 300 times more than tsarist Russia. Every day 8,000 flats are built and three new industrial enterprises begun. In such fields as education, public health and social services, the socialist Soviet Union ranks first in the world. Its feats in the fields of technology, space research and the like are too well known to call for recapitulation here.

Similar spectacular progress is a feature of all the other countries where the working people, guided by the principles of Marx, Engels and Lenin are building socialism. A particularly fast rate of development has occurred in the outlying non-Russian provinces of the tsarist empire, formerly the scene of typical colonialist stagnation and lack of development; the home of poverty, illiteracy and backwardness. Addressing the Alma-Ata Symposium on October 1, the secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, D.A. Kunayev, said of the former period:

> There were . . . no large-scale industrial enterprises and agriculture was primitive. Ignorance and illiteracy reigned in the Kazakh countryside. It was the Great October Revolution that helped our people to emerge on to the road of far-reaching social changes and, bypassing the tormenting stage of capitalist development, to make the leap from oppression to freedom and creative endeavour. . . .
> The present Soviet Kazakhstan, by its volume of industrial production is equal to 130 pre-revolutionary Kazakhstans, and its industrial goods are

> shipped to more than 70 countries. It is producing each hour more electricity than it took pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan to generate within a year. . . .
> Socialism has not only done away with the disgraceful legacy of the past, such as wholesale illiteracy, it has advanced our country to the forefront of science and culture.

Such achievements are of far more than academic interest to the peoples of Africa and other regions whose development has been stifled or retarded by colonialism. They are of the most direct and immediate interest.

In the first place, all the peoples of the countries which but recently lived under foreign rule are faced with enormous problems of modernising the economy and rapidly improving their standards of living, education, health and social welfare. Not one can afford to overlook the necessity to study and learn from the experiences of the socialist countries which themselves have tackled and overcome precisely such problems.

Secondly, as we of the South who are still engaged in a bitter fight for national liberation are well aware, the whole question of independence, of self-determination has not been finally resolved as long as imperialism on a world scale is still alive, is still ceaselessly and aggressively at work, to undermine independence where it has been achieved, if possible to restore colonialism; to shore up and perpetuate the remaining areas of African enslavement such as Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies. That is why we have to seek and strengthen our friendship with allies on a world scale; and why we are vitally concerned with the progress, the growing strength and security of the socialist countries who have proved our staunchest allies.

PAYING TRIBUTE TO LENIN

This year, 1970, will doubtless witness countless tributes in all five continents, to the memory and achievements of Lenin. It will be for us of Africa to see that our continent does not lag behind in these activities, for as this article has set out to show, our people have a particular love for and concern with 'Lenin the Liberator,' as J.B. Marks has called him; the greatest of revolutionary fighters for human rights and equality

It would be idle to expect the fascist and racist regimes of Southern Africa to participate in these tributes, even though the United Nations Educational and Scientific Commission has called on all countries to do so. For Lenin's life and work are the negation of everything these vioious regimes stand for; his very name is anathema to the Vorsters, Smiths and Caetanos of this world. They will do their best to keep the

people in ignorance of the fact that this is Lenin Year; and failing that they will do all they can to distort his version of a new world and to bespatter his memory.

They will not succeed. In even these fortresses of reaction the peoples of the oppressed South will find ways and means to mark their tribute, their participation in the international commemoration of the centenary of Lenin's birthday.

Our best tribute will be to raise yet higher the banner of struggle which he unfurled.

For Lenin is one of those few great historical figures who can never be submitted to the conventional treatment of sanctification and the hypocrisy of the respectable.

Today, a century after his birth and nearly fifty years after his death, his name continues to rouse passion; his life and thinking continue to make a dynamic and ever-increasing impact.

We Africans have suffered and are still suffering because the colonialists 'hid' Lenin from us; prohibited the circulation of his writings; banned and persecuted those organisations dedicated to the furtherance of his cause. Let us see that 1970 marks a new breakthrough, that all our people everywhere have the opportunity to read Lenin's works in their own languages; to experience for themselves the illuminating and liberating impact of his ideas.

Let us, this year, ensure fresh advances towards the realisation of Lenin's great ideas of human liberation by winning new victories for the African Revolution.

Let us inflict major blows on the imperialists and their African agents and hangers-on the tribalists and greedy, unpatriotic would-be capitalists who would sell the people for their own profit and advancement.

Let us fortify independence and unity in the newly-independent states and advance to the liberation of the South.

Let us restore the wealth of Africa to its rightful owners, the African people, and go all out to modernise our economy and uplift the people's standards on the path towards socialism.

That will be Africa's finest tribute to Lenin!

Dr Banda of Malawi ROGUE ELEPHANT OF AFRICA

Z.NKOSI

When Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda arrived in Nyasaland on July 6, 1958, to take over the leadership of Nyasaland African Congress he had been absent from the country of his birth for 42 years. He could not even speak his native language, and at public meetings could only communicate with his audience through an interpreter. As he stepped from his aircraft at the Chileka aerodrome, a skin of civet cat, the traditional symbol of chieftainship, draped over his elegant western suit, he appeared to personify the aspirations of his people to move from the black night of colonialism into the bright dawn of independence. He was given a hero's welcome.

Six years to the day after his return to Nyasaland, Banda presided over the independence celebrations of the new state of Malawi. The Central African Federation which the Nyasaland African Congress had helped to destroy had perished six months earlier, at the end of 1953. Perhaps it was significant that a the state luncheon at which independence was celebrated, the guests (who included the Duke of Edinburgh amongst other notabilities) drank Portuguese wine. The arch of independence, which was the central feature of the celebrations, cost about £15,000, was designed by a South African and was topped by an aluminium cockerel made in Southern Rhodesia. The cannons from which the salvoes of independence were fired had been borrowed from the Southern Rhodesian Army. Ian Smith, but not Welensky, had received Banda's personal invitation to attend. Pressure of work prevented him from going, but Lord Graham went in his stead. Portuguese representatives, too, were present for the first time at any African independence celebration. And of course there were the South Africans.

Right from the outset, the wrong note seemed to be struck. In striking contrast to Patrice Lumumba, who at the Congo's independence celebrations in 1960 delivered a slashing attack on Belgian

misrule in Africa in the very presence of the royal representative, Banda both before and after independence adopted a markedly pro-imperialist stand. In January 1964 he told the Legislative Assembly that after independence Nyasaland's foreign policy would be 'one of discretionary non-alignment . . . . . We are not going to enter into any cold war'. But it soon became apparent that this was not the usual 'neutrality' of former colonies seeking to break free of entanglements. Banda very quickly quarrelled not only with the leading cadres of his own liberation movement but with the entire Organisation of African Unity. He proclaimed his admiration for Malawi's former imperialist masters.

'We must forgive even if we cannot forget the past . . . . The British' he mused, 'are a peculiar people. They imprison you today and honour you tomorrow'. He expressed himself determined to maintain, and expand, his country's 'traditional relationships' with the neighbouring White-dominated states—Rhodesia, South Africa and Mozambique. Inside his country there was naturally opposition to his policies, but he put down his opponents with a single-minded ruthlessness.

Today he rules Malawi openly in the interests, and to the delighted plaudits of, the White racists of Africa and the imperialists and neo-colonialists of the Western world. Pro-West, anti-Communist, pro-South African, anti-OAU, a worshipper of personal authority at the expense of democracy—how did such a man come to preside over the fate of Malawi? The history of Banda's conquest and use of power contains lessons which it is of importance for all Africa and the world to learn.

PERSONAL RULE

One of the stock Western criticisms of independent African states is that they do not practise 'Westminster-style democracy' and rely on one-party rule or outright military dictatorship. In Malawi, Banda rules with a combination of both. This has not alienated his mentors in the West and South because in the long run it is not the style but the content of government which matters. In whose interests does Banda rule in Malawi? What class or section of his people does he represent? What foreign interests does he serve?

Banda's highly individual method of government owes something to his own personal history. Born of Cewa parents in the Kasunga district of Nyasaland in 1902, Banda first trained to be a teacher, then left his country in late 1915 or early 1916 to promote his fortunes in the south. For a while he worked as a hospital orderly at Hartley in Rhodesia, then in 1917 he moved to Johannesburg. His official biographers (Rotberg, Pike and others) say he spent the next seven to eight years as an engine-room oiler and clerk-interpreter on the mines. Banda himself (*Sunday Times* January 28 1968) says he worked at Delmore, near Johannesburg.

> I first worked underground wielding a pick on the rock face. You won't believe it, but for two years I hacked away. Today you have pneumatic drills. Later, because I knew a little English, I became a clerk.

The *Sunday Times* adds: 'He was on the mine for six or seven years. He grew up there and he thought that was why he understood South African problems better than other African leaders. "It was from such papers as the *Sunday Times*, that *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Star* that I learnt my politics", he said'.

He was able to break away from the mines through the intervention of a group of American missionaries, who provided the funds to send him to high school in Ohio. He graduated from Wilberforce, where he majored in Latin and Spanish, in 1928, and then obtained his Bachelor of Philosophy degree from Xenia College in 1931, finally qualifying as a doctor of medicine at Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennesee, in 1937. Needing British qualifications to practise medicine in Nyasaland, he moved to Edinburgh shortly before the outbreak of World War 2 and was eventually admitted as a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1941. He was prevented from returning to Nyasaland by the war, and settled down to practise, first on the Tyneside, and later in the London suburb of Harlesden, where he prospered.

He had travelled a long way from the Witwatersrand rock face, and today considers that because of his experiences on three continents he knows more about the White man and his ways of thinking than most other African leaders. He is certainly more opinionated. He told the *Sunday Times* reporter John Warrell: 'Many have the same background as I have but they are afraid of the others. They want to be on the popular bandwagon. It is not that they are any different from me. Most of them have a European kind of education—but they want popularity. I am not for popularity at all, that is the truth'. (*Sunday Times*, January 28, 1968).

Although it was 25 years since he had left his country, Banda was not an entire stranger to political affairs there. During his period of exile he had kept in touch with developments in Nyasaland, and shortly after the Nyasaland African Congress was formed in 1944 he was appointed its overseas representative. He was also a member of the British Labour Party, the Movement for Colonial Freedom and the union of Democratic Control, as well as an elder of the Church of Scotland. From afar, armed with the prestige of an African who had successfully competed with the White man on his home territory, he exercised a considerable influence on the formulation of Congress policy. and played a leading role at the London end in opposing the establishment of the Cenral African Federation in 1953.

The British Government and the white settlers had cooperated in the establishment of the Central African Federation with three objectives in mind:

1. The containment of African national aspirations;
2. The containment of South African economic and political penetration of central Africa;
3. The creation of a larger economic unit which would facilitate development and the attraction of capital investment.

All this was done in the name of 'partnership' between Black and White, but Federation was imposed on the African people against their unanimously expressed wish, and without even any formal attempt at consulation. One might have though this the time for Banda at last to transfer his sphere of operations to Nyasaland. Instead he moved to the Gold Coast (late to become Ghana). He told the Devlin Commission which inquired into the anti-Federation disturbances in Nyasaland in 1959 that he had done so because 'although his views about Federation were unaltered, he did not want to continue in active opposition to it, which if he remained in London would inevitably be the case'. He wanted, he said, 'to give it a chance'. It was for this reason that he decided to go to Ghana and he said that 'if the Nyasa people had accepted Federation he would have remained there'.

THE YOUNG MILITANTS

While Banda isolated himself in Ghana, the task of fighting Federation, building Congress and leading the struggle for liberation was undertaken by young militants like Kanyama Chiume, Masuako Chipembere, Dunduzu Chisiza and his brother Yatuta, Rose Chibambo and Wellington Chirwa.

These were the men and women who stumped the country, addressed meetings, roused the people, created the climate of opinion in which the concept of secession from Federation became a real possibility. These were the men and women with whom Banda quarrelled and whom he drove out of public life within two months of Malawi's achievement of independence.

In assessing the reasons for this defeat of the Congress militants, several factors have to be borne in mind. One is the comparitive inexperience of the Congress and its leadership, and its lack of a secure base among the people. The Nyasaland African Congress was first formed in 1944, but suffered a severe defeat with the establishment of Federation in 1953. Its policy of non-violence had been discredited by failure; its lack of organisation, and especially of good cadre material at the rank and file level, made the recourse to violence against the

authorities an impracticable alternative. The immediate post-1953 period saw the fortunes of Congress at a low ebb. For a time revival of interest in Congress was only made possible through its leaders' resort to the constitutional instruments provided by Federation—two Congress leaders, Wellington Chirwa and Clement Kumbikano, sat in the Federal Parliament, while five Congress militants, including Chiume and Chipembere, won all five African seats in the Nyasaland Legislative Council in 1956. Skilful use of both platforms helped Congress to regain the confidence of the people.

Yet even at this stage Congress was divided. The militants, led by Chipembere, felt that the Federal Parliament should be boycotted and the Congress representatives withdrawn. There was dissatisfaction with the Congress leadership, at the time headed by T.D.T. Banda (no relative of the doctor), who was felt to be 'old-fashioned'. Although Congress was the premier political organisation among the Africans, neither the militants nor the old-timers were able to consolidate their power. It is a measure of the immaturity of Congress that, faced with this dilemma, the militants turned to Dr. Banda for a solution, inviting him to assume the mantle of leadership. 'What was needed', Chipembere explained later according to the Devlin Commission report, 'was a kind of saviour, a prestigious father figure who would provide the dynamic leadership necessary for success'. Chipembere wrote to Dr. Banda asking him to return from the Gold Coast to take over the leadership of Congress. 'Human nature is such', wrote Chipembere, 'that it needs a kind of hero to be hero-worshipped if a political struggle is to succeed'. When Dr. Banda eventually agreed to take on the job, the Congress militants 'widely advertised his qualities as a messiah'. (Rotberg *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*). 'In March, after T.D.T. Banda had been accused of misappropriating Congress funds, they engineered his suspension from office. B.W. Matthews Phiri became the acting president-general of the Congress until Dr. Banda could return'.

In taking this step, the Congress militants reflected not merely their lack of confidence in their own powers of leadership, but more importantly their lack of confidence in Congress and its ability to mobilise the masses. Rotberg writes that although in April 1957 Congress claimed about 60,000 members, only a few months previously its registered branches totalled only 18, of which six had been established by Nyasas living outside Nyasaland. Pike, in his history of Malawi, also reports that 'at that time the Special Branch of Nyasaland police were active in the surveillance of Congress affairs and did not hesitate to undermine or discredit Congress office- bearers whenever the opportunity occurred'. Paid agents were active right inside Congress itself.

During the disturbances of 1959 which led to the ultimate break-up of Federation, the Nyasaland African Congress was banned and Dr.

Banda and over 1,300 of his alleged 'co-conspirators' were imprisoned. Shortly afterwards the Malawi Congress Party was formed to replace the banned NAC. Its aims were almost identical with those of the NAC—to work for self-government and independence for the people of Nyasaland, to eliminate all forms of oppression, 'racial, economic, social and otherwise', and to establish a democratic national government in Nyasaland. Within two days of its formation the Malawi Congress had 1,000 members. Within two months it claimed 15,000 paid up members ; by 1961 more than 1 million. There was certainly mass support for the new party, sufficient at any rate to bring it an overwhelming victory in the August 1961 elections, the country's first direct election in which more than 98 per cent of eligible voters went to the polls. By the time of the next elections in 1964, the Malawi Congress Party was the only party in the field, and elections since then have been a formality.

Dr. Banda took over the formal leadership of the Nyasaland African Congress at its annual general meeting in August 1958, when delegates elected him President-General on his own terms, with the personal right to appoint all the other officers and the members of the executive committee of the Congress. Today he holds the office of President of the Malawi Congress Party for life.

If, today, Malawi is gripped by the cult of the personality of Dr. Banda, the Congress militants must bear their share of the blame. It was they who built Congress, yet surrendered the leadership to him. But the roots of their error, in turn, must be sought in the nature of the Malawi Congress Party itself. No political organisation with a high level of political consciousness amongst the rank and file, with a strictly maintained discipline enforced through the medium of democratic centralism and collective leadership, with a secure class base amongst the people, with a clear programme and ideology, tested in action over the years, could allow such a development to take place.

There is no evidence that the Malawi Congress Party was such an organisation. It had a very short and chequered history, throughout which its leadership had been divided. It was never based on a social programme more developed than that of simple national liberation. The masses responded to the call for freedom, but were given no vision beyond that point. When the crisis point was reached, they responded on the basis of personal and tribal loyalties rather than ideological conviction. Dr. Banda may not have had the mass following of his young opponents, but he had the levers of power in his hands and he was not slow to use them.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The weaknesses of the Malawi Congress Party must be sought again, in the nature of Malawian society. Malawi is amongst the poorest states in Africa, with an income per head of population variously estimated at between £13 and £20 a year. At the time of independence in 1964, she was overwhelmingly an agricultural country, with nearly half of those in paid employment engaged in farming. She grew tea, tobacco, groundnuts, cotton, coffee, tung and rubber, but less than one third of her 4 million African population lived off such crops, most people being engaged in subsistence farming growing such crops as maize.

More than half the gross domestic product was generated in agriculture, four-fifths of this being consumed in the subsistence sector and the balance representing the bulk of the country's exports. As far as was known, Malawi possessed no mineral deposits capable of development save bauxite at Mlanje, and to date lack of power resources, communications and other facilities have prevented this from being turned into the valuable asset it might otherwise become. Total mining and quarrying production amounted to only 0.1 per cent of the national income, while a rudimentary manufaturing industry accounted for a further 4.5 per cent. (*Nyasaland Development Plan* 1962-65). Over 90 per cent of the total population were village dwellers.

The huge extent of the subsistence sector makes for uncertainty in calculating income per head of population. But in addition, the country's income, such as it was, was unevenly spread amongst the various racial groups. The 1966 census gave the following population figures:

Africans	4,023,193
Asians	10,880
Whites	7,046
Others	1,293

Yet according to the 1962-65 Development Plan, income distribution in 1960 was as follows:

Average Earnings –	Whites	£1,185 a year
	Coloureds and Asians	556
	Africans	51

Rural African household income per head was estimated to be £11 a year.

The country's greatest economic problem is seen by the economists to be unemployment flowing from lack of access to the land and lack

of capital for the development of the industrial sector. The 1961 census showed that of the 298,000 Nyasaland Africans in paid employment, 171,000 were in Northern Rhodesia or South Africa. Their remittances totalled some £2 million a year, equal to half the country's export earnings from tea.

In an address to the Malawi Parliament on March 29, 1967, Dr. Banda indicated that the extent of migratory labour was even greater. 'Roughly we have about 200,000 of our men working in Rhodesia, 80,000 in the Republic of South Africa, between 15 and 20,000 in Tanzania', he said.

A survey of the educational situation in Malawi conducted by the American Council of Education, the results of which were published in April 1964, showed that about 360,000 children (about half the total) were in primary school, 3,000 in secondary schools and that less than 900 were receiving instruction in technical and commercial classes either full-time or part-time. Teacher preparation was so inadequate that a large proportion of the primary pupils were being taught by teachers only slightly better trained then the pupils themselves. There were 11 teacher training schools, two Government-operated and nine run by missions. The country's less than 50 college-educated citizens were trained abroad. There was no secondary school in Nyasaland until the time of the second world war. Even by 1965 two-thirds of the secondary school teachers were Americans.

This was the context in which Dr. Banda came into office as President of independent Malawi in 1964. And it is against this background of poverty, migratory labour and educational backwardness that the achievements of the Malawi Congress Party must be seen.

BANDA, THE AUTOCRAT

The divisions in the leadership of the Malawi Congress Party came to a head within weeks of independence in 1964. From the outset Dr. Banda had made it clear he was no democrat. 'I am the boss and anyone who does not know that is a fool'. he said. 'I decide everything without consulting anybody and that is how things will be done in Malawi. Anyone who does not like that can get out'. (*New York Times*, September 16, 1964). The militants had given Dr. Banda power, and were now to find that it was to be used in its more drastic form against themselves.

The issues in dispute were not merely personal. They had an ideological and class basis. The young militants were the most forward-looking elements in Congress, led by Chipembere, a graduate of Fort Hare, and Chiume, a graduate of Makerere, and supported by the intellectual elite of the country, most of whom were civil servants and

teachers. Though lacking, perhaps, in ideological clarity, they were typical of the men and women who led the African revolution from one end of the continent to the other in the 60's. They wanted an end to colonialism and discrimination, an end to subservience and dependency. They wanted Malawi ruled by Malawians for the benefit of the Malawians. They wanted Malawi to be raised to a position of equality and honour among the nations of the world. Perhaps they were not very clear about the mechanics of power, the intricacies of high finance or the role of capital. But that they genuinely wanted a break with the past and Malawi firmly set on the road to a prosperous future for all there can be no doubt.

Dr. Banda, the pragmatist (as he is so often called), was not merely an older man. He was also quite clearly orientated towards the West and the capitalist mode of production. Two months before independence he warned his people to be on guard against 'Communism'. Whilst admitting that Russia had made great strides over the past 40 years, he claimed this had been achieved at the expense of great suffering and death. 'If you believe that the State can force you to do anything, order you to prison, then Communism is a good system'. (*Guardian*, May 1, 1964). For a man who in the same year declared himself quite willing to be called the Dictator of Malawi, this was rich. Within weeks of independence he had introduced a preventive detention act, and since then he has banned, restricted, deported, exiled and even executed his opponents and confiscated their property with a ferocity almost unparalleled in the annals of African independence.

Banda's opposition to Communism is not, of course, based on the alleged lack of democracy in the Soviet Union. In his speech he indicated that he preferred the economic and political system practised in Britain and some of the Scandinavian countries 'because there a man can rise . . . and the State will protect him from rigid individualism. The State has some measure of control over capital and production, but the individual is free . . . It is my ideal'.

At a convention of the Malawi Congress Party held in September 1968, President Banda asked delegates to decide for themselves whether they wanted a capitalist, socialist or Communist system of government in Malawi. Reviewing the three systems, Dr. Banda said that for Communism to succeed 'the people must have no freedom at all to do anything'. The correspondent of the Johannesburg *Star* commented 'Dr. Banda left nobody in doubt of which system he personally favoured. Communists and Socialists would obviously be unwelcome in Malawi'. The Soviet Union and People's China sent congratulatory messages to Banda on the occasion of Malawi's independence in 1964,

but no representatives from any socialist country have ever been allowed in Malawi. In December 1964 three Soviet journalists who managed to enter the country in the course of an African tour were put on the next flight to Kenya. In December 1968 Malawi was represented at a five-day conference of the 'World Anti-Communist League' in Saigon by a junior minister of the government, Mr. J. L. Angani.

As it turned out, it was Dr. Banda's psychotic anti-Communism which was one of the causes of his breach with the MCP militants. Aware of Malawi's chronic shortage of development capital, China had offered the country a loan of £18 million. Dr. Banda rejected the offer, alleging that it was merely a bribe to secure recognition of the Peking regime. Chipembere denied this, saying the loan was purely for aid and without strings. In urging acceptance of the aid, the militants were by no means displaying support for Communism for they were not Communist or even Marxist in their training or thinking. But they saw the loan as an opportunity for breaking away from Malawi's traditional reliance on Britain.

DEPENDENCE ON IMPERIALISM

At the time of independence, according to the *London Times* of July 6, 1954, 'the extent of aid (by Britain) is still unknown, but will include between £2 million and £5 million a year in direct budgetary subsidies. Britain has also agreed to pay a large part of the £35 million development plan which may—or may not—enable the annual budgetary deficit to be tapered off'. In fact, the development plan has done little to lessen dependence on British aid. On March 25, 1969, the Johannesburg *Star* reported: 'Malawi is still heavily dependent on outside aid. Since independence British aid alone has amounted to nearly R68 million, this includes direct budgetary assistance'. Economists agree that if development continues on the present lines, budgetary assistance will be required for at least a further 10 years.

In addition, Britain remains Malawi's largest source of capital and is her principal trade market, taking approximately 60 per cent of her exports and providing 30 per cent of her imports. The bulk of expatriates in Malawi are of British origin, and the Malawi administration, police and military forces are in the hands of British officers.

While the Congress militants saw this overwhelming dependence on Britain as a reason for seeking trade pacts and alliances elsewhere, and especially in the socialist countries to give reality to the declared policy of 'discretional alignment and neutralism' Dr. Banda took the opposite view. Any links with the socialist world would, in his opinion, endanger further infusions of capital from the West. It may be that he had even received advice to this effect from some of the Western governments.

At all events, he vetoed the Peking loan. Diversification of trade he was in favour of, but he sought it elsewhere—from the white supremacist countries of the south. Addressing the Malawi Parliament on March 29, 1967 he explained why he had sent trade missions to South Africa and Portugal:

> There is no doubt that the treaties, agreements and conventions with the Republic of South Africa over trade and labour recruitment, with Portugal over transport and communications and transit facilities through Mozambique to and from the sea, the agreements and conventions over Nyasaland Railways Company and the Trans-Zambezi Railways Company which we inherited when we became independent in 1964 have been and still are of great benefit to this country.
>
> A number of our farm produce or farm products which we cannot sell elsewhere have found markets in South Africa. On the other hand, certain consumer and capital goods which we cannot easily get from the United Kingdom and other countries in Europe, we can get them in the markets of South Africa from manufacturers and industrialists of the Republic of South Africa.
>
> This is also true of the labour market in the Republic of South Africa. Next to Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa is the largest employer of our labour . . . .
>
> As to Mozambique, or Portugal through Mozambique, it is hardly necessary for me even to explain. Even a child knows that we are a landlocked country . . . . The only port we are using or ports we have ever used are situated in Mozambique, Quelimane, Chinde, Beira. As I am speaking, we are using only Beira.
>
> This being the case, we have no choice but to negotiate new treaties, new agreements and new conventions with the Republic of South Africa and with Portugal.

Since then, as is known, Malawi has become the only independent African state to enter into diplomatic relations with South Africa. The political and economic benefit to the apartheid regime was frankly explained in a Johannesburg newspaper:

> The diplomatic exchange will give South Africa a vital diplomatic bridgehead deep into Black Africa. It will also clear the way for Malawi to become a shop-window example of the benefits of friendly co-operation. (*Star*, December 12, 1967).

South African exports to Malawi rose from £857,000 in the year of independence, 1964, to £1,960,000 in 1967 and £2,176,000 in the first three quarters of 1968. Malawi's trade with the Republic continues to rise at a faster rate than that with any other country. South Africa has also come forward with loan and investment capital unobtainable elsewhere. Where Britain, for example, refused to lend money for the transfer of the Malawi capital from Zomba to Lilongwe and in fact advised against the project, South Africa supported it with a first-stage

loan of R8 million, and South African firms are involved in the project which is eventually expected to cost anything up to R40 million. South Africa is also financing the R11 million railway which will link Malawi with the Mozambique railway at Nova Freixo and ultimately provide a second outlet to the sea at Nacala. South African investment capital is also involved in the building of a sugar mill, a pulpwood project on the Vipya plateau, a match factory and other projects. South Africa has also provided broadcasting equipment and the services of technicians to install and operate it, while Malawi's information service and airways are headed by South Africans. The chairman of the Malawi Board of Censors is a Dutch Reformed Church Missionary from the Republic.

No wonder South African Premier Vorster was able to claim, during the debate on his vote in the 1969 session of Parliament, that relations with Malawi were going extremely well. Portugal has also expressed her satisfaction at the development of relations with Malawi since Dr. Banda came to power, and in return Dr. Banda has defended the Portuguese colonial record in Africa. It has been suggested that Malawi is a party to the unofficial military agreement between the white-dominated states for the defence of Southern Africa against the 'Communist menace'. (Michael Leapman in the *Sun* London, April 30, 1969).

PREPOSTEROUS CLAIMS

These suggestions are strengthened by Dr. Banda's preposterous territorial claims against neighbouring Tanzania and Zambia. In September, 1968, he claimed that Malawi's true borders, before they were 'juggled by the imperialists'. extended 'to the north at least 100 miles north of Songwe, to the south the Zambesi River itself, to the East the Indian Ocean, to the West the Luangwa River', and demanded that these territories be returned . . . 'What was stolen from us by the colonial regime must be given back to us now. The British had no business giving that land to someone across there'. Since implementation of the claims would involve the extension of the Malawi border 100 miles into Tanzania, and the incorporation of large slices of Zambia and Mozambique, it is hardly surprising that they were resisted by Dr. Banda's neighbours. In addition, they were repudiated by the Organisation of African Unity, the All-African Trade Union Federation, and a number of liberation movements from countries in Southern Africa still dominated by the racists and colonialists.

In a strongly worded statement issued from its headquarters in Dar es Salaam, the African National Congress of South Africa said Dr. Banda's claim was 'a serious threat to the security of Tanzania and Africa in general, and a hostile act against liberation movements dedicated to free Africa'. The statement pointed out that Dr. Banda had

become 'a catspaw and a springboard of the racialist and colonial regimes in Southern Africa and imperialists in general in their aggression against independent Africa'. A similar statement was issued by FRELIMO.

Far from dropping his claims, Dr. Banda rounded on his critics, 'Those people in Dar es Salaam, the rulers in Dar es Salaam, those people in Lusaka, the rulers in Lusaka, they say they are the greatest champions of freedom in Africa, they are the fighters against imperialism in Africa . . . If those people in Tanzania, those people in Zambia are really against imperialism, why do they not disgorge or vomit what they inherited from imperialism and colonialism?'. In a series of speeches at rallies in various parts of Malawi in September and October 1968, Dr. Banda contrasted the criticism of independent Africa with the embarrassed silence of the Portuguese.

'I repeat', he said on October 27 at Chileka Airport, 'the Portuguese have said nothing. As a matter of fact I am going to land in Portuguese territory now. The plane I am taking is a Portuguese plane, not a Malawi plane. Where I am going to speak is a Portuguese border. I am landing on Portuguese soil by the permission and good relationships with Lisbon. The Portuguese have arranged everything there . . . Therefore, who is imperialistic and colonialistic? So far as I am concerned, not the Portuguese . . . . The people who shout most against imperialism are themselves imperialistic.'

In the midst of this war of words Dr. Banda announced that he had commissioned a fleet of gunboats to patrol Lake Malawi. Manned by members of the Malawi Young Pioneers, they had orders to fight in case of trouble with their neighbours.

Such are the lengths to which anti-Communist and pro-imperialist external policies have step by step led Malawi. The results have amply justified the warnings expressed by the veterans and militants of the Malawi liberation movement at the time they broke with Banda.

Naturally, their criticisms were not confined to matters of external policy.

GOOD LIFE FOR WHITES

Among other points of difference between Dr. Banda and the Congress militants were:

1. Banda's decision to accept the recommendations of the Skinner commission that the salaries of civil servants be pegged.
2. Banda's decision to impose a charge of 3d. per person for all out-patient treatment at government hospitals. Previously (under Federation) all hospital services had been free.

3. Banda's reluctance to Africanise the administration, and his appointment of Whites (often South Africans) to the boards of Air Malawi, the Bank of Malawi, the Malawi Development Corporation, and other public and semi-public posts.

All these reactionary decisions were a blow to the aspirations of the people. They struck not merely at the Congress militants, but at the entire educated elite from which they were drawn and on whose position of leadership in the community their powers were based: the civil servants, the teachers, all those who by virtue of their training and education, as well as their service to the party, had hoped for greater and faster advancement after independence.

The *Rand Daily Mail* was able to report as late as June 27, 1967:

> To visit Malawi today is to be transported back to the palmy days of bygone colonial life and a way of existence that has largely vanished from Black Africa during the past decade. The wind of change has scarcely ruffled the surface of Malawi society . . .
>
> The White community, now numbering about 12,000, is enjoying unparalleled conditions of prosperity and good living. In fact, since independence, the number of Europeans in Malawi has increased by as much as 25 per cent. White administrators and technicians fill official posts; the Presidential entourage is largely White; and the District Commissioners (now called government agents) are in many places still expatriates. The army and the police, including the C.I.D. are White controlled, while Dr. Banda receives the Rhodesian intelligence reports regularly. Business houses have been little troubled by the cry of 'Africanisation' and all responsible jobs in commerce and industry and such industry as there is, are held by Whites.
>
> Even in colonial times, the White population never enjoyed such halcyon days.

Dr. Banda right from the outset stated he had no intention of Africansing at the expense of efficiency. Between 1960 and 1965 the number of senior posts held by Africans rose from 104 to 570, but 901 top posts were still held by non-Africans. (*'Training for Localisation in the Public Service in Malawi'* by M.J. Berman, *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, January 1966).

It was only in 1969, five years after independence, that an African was elected for the first time to the executive of the Malawi Chamber of Commerce. On February 5, 1969, the Johannesburg *Star* quoted a Malawi Minister, Mr. Eric Nyasulu, as saying the services of all expatriates in Malawi would be retained as long as they were necessary, no matter what other countries might say and do at the Organisation of African Unity and elsewhere.

The paper added:

> Half of Malawi's twelve Permanent Secretaries are Europeans, and the head of the civil service is himself a White. In the police and army, a similar situation applies. The highest military rank so far obtained by an African is that of major. No African policeman has yet been promoted above the rank of superintendent.

It would appear that Dr. Banda is relying on the Whites not only for efficiency but also for his own personal security.

In breaking with the Congress militants, 'manifestly the most able in the party' (Pike), Dr. Banda 'cut himself off by his arrogance from the sources of his popular strength' (*New York Times*, September 21, 1964). And it was only a month after independence that the breach in the ranks of the Malawi Congress Party was revealed. Early in August 1964 Colin Cameron, the only White minister in the Malawi Government, resigned in protest against Dr. Banda's proposal to introduce regulations for preventive detention. On September 8, 1964, Dr. Banda dismissed Chiume, Chirwa and Bwanausi from the Cabinet, and also dismissed Mrs. Rose Chibambo, a leader of the League of Malawi Women and Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Natural Resources. Chisiza and Chokani resigned in sympathy, to be followed by Chipembere on his return from Canada.

After the dismissals and resignations, Dr. Banda was left only two Cabinet Ministers, and has ever since had the greatest difficulty in finding men of talent and ability, let alone popular support, to serve him. Unwilling to preside over any sort of collective leadership and demanding absolute obedience, he has driven from the party all men of independent mind and initiative.

INSURRECTION

The breach in the Congress Party ranks was at first accompanied by an insurrection, in which the Congress militants appeared to enjoy widespread support amongst the people. But relying on his British-officered forces, Banda put down the revolt with the utmost severity. One of the rebel leaders, Medson Evans Silombela, was publicly hanged in Zomba prison in 1967. The bullet-ridden body of Yatuta Chisiza, who entered Malawi from exile in Tanzania at the head of an armed force, was placed on public exhibition in Blantyre in October of the same year after the incursion had been smashed by the Malawi security forces. Eight of those who had accompanied Chisiza on this enterprise were hanged in Zomba Prison in March 1969 after being found guilty of treason by a British High Court judge Sir Peter Watkin-Williams. Dr. Banda accompanied this punitive action in the field with a thorough purge of the Congress Party membership at all levels.

The result has been that the Malawi Cabinet has been converted from an instrument of leadership into a cabal of yesmen. On December 31, 1968, the Johannesburg *Star*, noting that Dr. Banda had reshuffled his Cabinet twice in the previous three months, commented:

> Clearly Dr. Banda is finding difficulty in extracting the best from the men at his disposal, and in laying down an efficient framework within which they can work. The sheer number of Cabinet changes within the past two years is sufficient testimony to this: four major reshuffles and a similar number of smaller Ministerial changes of responsibility. The principal reason for such frequent Government reorganisation appears to be the relatively small number of Ministers of Cabinet ability Dr. Banda has available to him.
>
> At present the Cabinet is at its smallest since independence–with eight Ministers handling between them double that number of portfolios.

Chief of Dr. Banda's aides, now regarded as his presumptive heir (so long as the present set-up lasts), is the youngest of them all, Aleke Banda, aged 28–no relation to the President. Aleke Banda was born in Rhodesia but deported to Nyasaland after being jailed in the 1959 emergency. His path to the leadership has been paved by a combination of hard work and sycophantic devotion to his President. Now Minister of Finance, he has also served as a secretary-general of the Malawi Congress Party, leader of the League of Malawi Youth, director general of the Broadcasting Corporation and first editor of Malawi News. He has also won his spurs in Dr. Banda's team as chief trade negotiator with the South Africans, and has headed a mission to the Republic.

Cut off from the masses, Dr. Banda has had to rule by force. Armed with powers as sweeping and arbitrary as any wielded by the Vorster regime in South Africa, Dr. Banda is able to detain his opponents without trial, seize their property, ban the publication of their writings and speeches, exile them to remote areas and place them under other restrictions. If they are expatriates he can deport them. He has used these extensive powers indiscriminately against his opponents of all races, classes, tribes and nationalities. Over 1,000 former party stalwarts are still rotting in detention.

But Dr. Banda has gone further in his bid to strengthen his personal position. He has also tried to create artificially an elite class amongst his people whose interest will lead them to support his programme. Turning to the youth, he founded in 1964 the organisation known as the Young Pioneers, specially adapted to Malawi's needs by Israeli advisers. The Johannesburg *Star* reported on January 30, 1968:

> The Young Pioneers have a dual function. Primarily they are the spearhead of Malawi's army of reconstruction. But they are also an arm of the security forces with direct responsibility to their Commander-in-Chief, President Banda.

> At the end of 1965 their special position was recognised by Act of Parliament. Young Pioneers cannot be kept under arrest without permission from their commanding officer—which effectively means President Banda. Permission is also required before the police or the army can release a prisoner taken by the Young Pioneers.

The Young Pioneers undergo training on military lines. The first training bases were set up in the south, at Amalika, near Cholo, and at Nasawa, near the capital, Zomba. By 1968 another 14 bases had been established, and seven more were planned. The intention was to have a Young Pioneers base in every district of the country by 1970. During 1968 each base was provided with an airstrip, and groups of Young Pioneers began training as pilots under a scheme being operated by Air Malawi and the Department of Civil Aviation. The *Star* of January 7, 1969, commented: 'Since, in times of crisis, the pioneers can play a military role, the airstrips are strategic as well as an administrative asset'.

A Youth Brigade has been formed to enable schoolchildren to get a grounding in the aims of the Young Pioneers before they reach the age where they become eligible to join. Today there are over 5,000 members of the Young Pioneers, several hundred of them women. Dr. Banda has also introduced military-style training methods in the League of Malawi Women and has used them with great effect (his 'Amazons' as he calls them) in the various struggles with his opponents.

BANDA REVIVES TRIBALISM

The charge has also been levelled against Banda that he has revived tribalism in Malawi as a means of bolstering his power structure. In a most persuasive article *White Africa's Black Ally* published in the September-October 1967 issue of *New Left Review*, Andrew Ross, pastor of a group of churches in Malawi in the post-independence period, states that Banda, far from filling the role of nation-builder has, on the contrary, turned into 'a tribalist destroyer of a nation'. After the break with the young militants in the Congress Party, Banda consciously sought to weed out the educated men from positions of power and influence. In the villages 'the headmen became part of the new regime'. Ross speaks of their reborn sense of self-confidence and authority.

> The most dramatic form this took was the open 'cleanings' of villages by witch-finders called in by the headmen. Headmen, recently written off as 'Colonialist stooges', were again men of weight and prestige . . . .
>
> Banda, in seeking a personal base of power in Malawi, turned not to a tribe, but to the whole class of people left aside by the rise of the new men. First, he pandered to the older generation of semi-educated men who saw with

> bitterness the top jobs in government going to the young graduates. Second, and much more important, he pandered to those who held traditional power in rural society, who had seen this power bolstered by the British, but diminished first by Congress and then by the Malawi Government . . .
>
> The apparent tribalist revival in Malawi, on closer examination, seems to be a social counter-revolution.

Even the move of the capital Zomba to Lilongwe, opposed by a British commission but supported by a South African one, seems to have motivated at least in part by Dr. Banda's desire to promote his interests among the Chewa who dominate in the central region. Banda himself is a Chewa. Most of Banda's opponents were non-Chewa, and Banda has deliberately fostered Chewa chauvinism in his fight against them. In September 1968, Chewa was made of of Malawi's two official languages, the other being English.

Banda himself has paraded in the guise of paramount chief to strengthen his appeal to the tribalist elements. The Congress militants had themselves prepared the Malawi public for his assumption of this role, and he was not slow to realise the advantages. He travels, Pike reports, 'a fly-whisk in his hand, his entourage preceded by a modern version of the praise-maker—a land-rover fitted with loudspeakers—and welcoming groups of ululating women symbolically sweeping the ground with brushwood in front of his path. Because of these histrionics, he was immediately recognised as the de facto paramount chief and he rapidly assumed such a position within the minds of the people'.

Special orders were issued providing for the punishment of those who did not give way to Banda's vehicle on the public highway. In the Malawi Parliament practically every speaker includes in his speech reference to Banda as 'the redeemer of the Malawi Nation', 'the Messiah'. In the course of one day's debate—January 31, 1968—the representative of Kasupe West, Mr. Gunda, said: 'Ngwazi is a great leader in Malawi, in Africa, in the world because God blessed him so that he could look after his people. God chose him to be a great leader'. Mr. Mwale, for Kasunga North, said: 'There is only one person in this House who is bold, acceptable, notable, devoted and approachable, (Applause)'. The Minister of Labour, Mr. Chiwanda, made this notable speech which is recorded in its entirety in the Malawi Hansard as follows:

> Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have got only three things to say this afternoon. One is to congratulate my colleague the Minister of Finance on his excellent budget speech.
>
> Secondly I must praise the brilliant speech made by His Excellency the President in this House on Monday especially the part about entering into a Labour Agreement with South Africa. I, as Minister of Labour have the

> honour to inform this House that just after His Excellency the President's speech 60 men were registered in the Central Region and that morning 120 men left on Monday to work in South Africa, a further 200 men are supposed to leave on Friday for South Africa.
>
> At the moment my officers are in the Northern Region and the Central Region and other places where we have established centres.
>
> Thank you Mr. Speaker. (Applause).

Dr. Banda has attempted to live in the style to which his status as Paramount Chief, Messiah and Redeemer would entitle him by building a Presidential palace near Blantyre at an estimated cost of £500,000. A report by William Norris in the London *Times* in September 1967 said the palace will have a circular swimming pool 20 ft. in diameter, a huge room for 'large State gifts' and a lesser one for 'small State gifts'. The banqueting hall, Press conference room and many other airy patios are the other amenities.

Norris's report goes on:

> One stupendous view from the hilltop, from where Dr. Banda will be able to read 'Long Live Kamuzu' spelt out in white stone on the neighbouring mountainside, is thrown in for nothing.

Another palace, on a similar scale, is to be built at Lilongwe. These are in addition to the two splendid official buildings already occupied by Dr. Banda at Zomba and Blantyre, and the numerous presidential 'lodges' scattered in various parts of the country. Banda also has three Rolls Royces and a £10,000 Mercedes included in his personal transport fleet.

Against this background of ostentatious luxury for Banda, there has been small improvement in the lot of the masses. The years since independence have seen some development in the industrial sphere. By 1966 there were about 200 manufacturing establishments employing some 12,000 workers with a gross output of £10 million—about 10 per cent of the gross domestic product. (Industrial Development in Malawi by N.C. Pollock, Geography, v.52. 1967). The Johannesburg *Star* of March 25, 1969, claimed: 'Manufacturing output has more than doubled since independence—from R1 million to R22 million'. There has even been increasing participation in industry by the State through the Malawi Development Corporation. But most of the concerns are small scale. While a hydro-electric project and a sugar mill at one end of the spectrum are positive gains, the manufacture of beer, whiskey, gin, and transistor radios at the other are of more dubious value. There has also been diversification in agriculture, with a variety of new crops grown. But despite the passage in 1967 of laws providing for the conversion from customary tenure to individual title, investment in agriculture has not matched the requirements, and Malawi still has only

4.5 million acres cultivated out of an estimated 11 million acres cultivable. (*'Economic Development and Political Change in Malawi'* by J.C.Stone, *Journal of Tropical Geography*, December 1968).

Since independence, the annual rate of growth has declined. It was up to 17 per cent in 1965, but down to 10 per cent in 1966, 9 per cent in 1967 and only 2 per cent in 1968: the last being the consequence of a poorer harvest, devaluation and a cut in budgetary aid from Britain (*Star*, March 25, 1969). With 90 per cent of the population dependent in one form or another on agriculture, most at subsistence level, the effects of this decline must be to some extent cushioned. But the inevitable cuts in the standard of living have affected those in the modern sector of the economy who are most demanding improvements.

Such development as there has been has tied Malawi more firmly to the imperialist countries. The major contributors to Malawian development since independence, in addition to Britain and South Africa, are West Germany (agriculture, roads and broadcasting), Denmark (telecommunications and a brewery), Japan (motor vehicles, motor cycles and textiles), the United States and international agencies under Western influence. In agriculture considerable aid has been provided by teams of experts from Taiwan.

Dr. Banda's plans for the future show no change in the pattern. The development programme for 1969 envisages an expenditure of over R24 million, of which R20 million will come from external sources. The enfeebling drain of manpower to the white-dominated countries of Southern Africa continues. In these circumstances whatever progress Malawi manages to achieve will merely place her more firmly under the control of imperialism. The prospect of self-generated capital accumulation, economic viability and real independence will become ever more remote.

Dr. Banda justifies his policies on the grounds that he has no alternative. This is not true. He had an alternative, but he rejected it.

The alternative was to diminish and eventually eliminate Malawi's ties with imperialism and the racist regimes of Southern Africa, to mobilise constructively the creative resources of the country and people, in alliance with peoples of free Africa and the socialist countries, to place the economy of the country on a more secure foundation by planning to meet the needs of the people instead of attempting to attract capital by inciting the greed of foreign investors. This might have proved a harder and tougher road in the short run, but who can doubt that in the long run it would have raised Malawi to a position of greater wealth, freedom and influence than she can possibly hope for under present auspices?

The time will come, perhaps sooner than we think, when the people of Malawi will demand a change of course. For most of them

independence has brought no benefits. All they can see is the wealth of their country being looted by foreigners, with a few jacks in office, sharing the crumbs. The statistics of progress are reflected in the profit charts of the capitalists but not in the homes of the people.

The policies of the Banda regime are not, however, a matter of concern to the people of Malawi alone. Certainly they are the prime victims, and on their shoulders falls the main burden of redeeming the reputation of their country from the low level to which it has fallen. But the pro-imperialist and anti-African attitudes and actions of the Malawi administration are a serious embarrassment and also a threat to its neighbours and to the cause of African unity and liberation.

Banda is the 'rogue elephant' of Africa. He openly flouts the sanctions and boycotts solemnly decided by all African states, against the Portuguese and white racist regimes. He has turned Malawi into an advance base for the adventurist plans of Vorster, Smith and Caetano against Africa. In due course he will have to answer for these misdeeds.

How is it that we, a people deprived of everything, living in dire straits, manage to wage our struggle and win successes? Our answer is: this is because Lenin existed, because he fulfilled his duty as a man, a revolutionary and patriot. Lenin was, and continues to be, the greatest champion of the national liberation of the peoples. **Amilcar Cabral** *(P.A.I.G.C.) addressing the International Symposium 'Lenin and the National Liberation Movement,' Alma-Ata, October 1969.*

Problems of Domestic Accumulation and Economic Growth

EAST AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

Ondiek Okelo

The newly independent States are often referred to as 'under-developed' or 'backward' countries. But, in reality, these states are neither under-developed nor backward. Their social and economic progress was for nearly a century arrested by the robberies of the international monopolies. This is the basic reason for the low level of development of their national resources. Through the most rapacious exploitation by the Western monopolies, these states were turned into mere raw-material appendages of metropolitan Europe and into 'village' markets for the latter's industrial commodities. Their human resources were reduced to the status of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'. The dominating colonial regimes created in these countries a lopsided economy based on monoculture production of one, two or three commodities and the extraction of a few mineral resources,chiefly for export. This export-oriented sector was developed exclusively and with complete disregard for the internal needs of the indigenous people. The chief motive of the colonialists was the pursuit of maximum profits.

As a direct result the newly independent states have inherited from the colonial regimes very low levels of per capita income, of domestic accumulation and of labour productivity. They are also left with the task of creating a modern industry, a contingent of highly trained personnel. They were bequeathed the problem of mass illiteracy, ignorance, a large and growing army of unemployed and landless people and an economy heavily dependent on external trade.

With that as the starting point for their development after attaining independence, these countries have the desire to create a diversified economy. In order to bring to an end their dependence on foreign trade, they need to develop a new sector, an industrial complex. This isessential for the elevation of the level of their labour productivity. At the same time, they must find an urgent solution, if a steady advancement is to be made on the social and economic plane, for the problem of raising the general standard of living of the masses.

Any attempt to solve these problems always calls into being another problem, the problem of resources. From where are the developing states to obtain the resources which they need for financing their development plan? This is the basic question.

THE CONCEPT OF ACCUMULATION

Let us begin with a brief explanation of the concept of accumulation. Accumulation is the use of a portion of surplus value (i.e. what remains after deducting production and consumption expenditure from the Gross National Product) not for present consumption but for expansion of production, through its transformation into investment goods (i.e. machines, tools, instruments, raw-materials etc.) and into wage-goods for new labour power.

In 'Simple Reproduction' (i.e. a repetition of production in an equal scale—which now dominates most of Africa's peasant and artisan economy) all the surplus value is consumed by the producer and his family.

In East Africa, as in the majority of developing countries, that portion of the surplus value which goes for accumulation is quite small. In Kenya it was 16.4% of the 1964 Gross Domestic Product; and in the same year it constituted 15% of the GNP of Tanzania; and 15.5% of Uganda's GDP. It is because of this low level of domestic accumulation that these states are heavily dependent upon external sources. For example, in the planning period 1966-1970 the Kenya government envisaged spending £92 million through the budget out of which only £31m. or 33.7% is expected to come from domestic sources and the rest would come from outside. [1] In Tanzania, the plan was set to spend during July, 1964 - June, 1969 on development plans a sum of £246m. out of which the domestic resources would comprise £117.5m. or about 48%[2] and in Uganda the domestic resources were expected to be £155m. or 64.6% of the total expenditure of £240 m to be spent during the second five year plan. (1966–1971)[3]

What are the factors which limit the size of domestic accumulation in East Africa?

First, the extent of capital 'repatriation' to Western capitals especially to Britain, West Germany, Japan and the U.S.A. in the form of profits, dividends, interests and private transfers which greatly increased on the eve of and after independence. In Kenya the outflow of capital on the eve of independence led to a fall in the size of capital formation from the peak of £41.5m. in 1960 to its lowest ebb of £30.9m. in

[1] Republic of Kenya. Development Plan 1966-1970 page 118
[2] *Tanganyika Five Year Plan*, page 97
[3] *Uganda's Second Five Year Plan* (1966-1971 page 26

1963. In 1964 alone the outflow was estimated by the Kenya Government to be £15m.[4] In Uganda the outflow rose from £5m. a year between 1945-1959 to about £20m.–£30m. from 1960-1963. This was reflected in the falling rates of capital formation which decreased from 21.3% to 13.6% per annum between 1955-1963. [5] From Tanzania the outflow showing as investment payments alone increased from £4.1m. in 1961 to £7.1m. in 1963 and in 1964 it fell to £5.8m. [6]

These figures however, have underestimated the true position of capital outflow from these countries. If account were taken of the sum total of financial losses being sustained by these countries from their external economic relations as a whole (including external debt service charges, trade deficits, etc.) very high figures would be reflected.

Secondly, the size of per capita income in East Africa is amongst the smallest in the world. For example, in 1966, the per capita income of Kenya stood at £38, for Tanzania (Tanganyika) at £21 and of Uganda at £30.7. This is what really minimises the chances for private saving for the majority of the population. [7] The chances are further depressed by the high rates of population growth in East Africa. Whereas Kenya's annual per capita income growth is only about 1.0%, her population growth is about 3%; for Tanzania the figures are 2.7% add 2.4% respectively; and for Uganda 1.4% and 1.2% respectively.

Thirdly, another important factor to be noted is the rapidly rising rate of unproductive consumption (both government and personal). This is particularly remarkable in Kenya where the government devotes its efforts to laying a basis for a capitalist economy and where the chief motive of the ruling circle is get-rich-quick coupled with a high rate of personal consumption. In the circumstances, a larger portion of the income of the growing bureaucratic elements is being diverted from development plans and switched into unproductive activities such as erection of luxury private dwellings, owning a number of private cars, luxury weddings and running polygamic families. Large funds are also spent on maintaining an expensive bureaucratic state apparatus (this includes very high wages for Ministers, MP's, top civil servants and private sector employees; building luxury offices etc.), Mr Oginga Odinga in his *Not Yet Uhuru* has described the spending in Kenya as follows:

> KANU's present over-weighted government of 46 ministers and junior ministers earn between them something in the region of a quarter of a million pounds sterling a year, enough to provide housing for 500 families . . . In six months an MP receives more money than the average peasant earns in half a life-time. (p.302).

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[4] *Development Plan* 1966-1970, page 98
[5] *Financing African Development*, page 204
[6] *Background to the Budget* 1966-1967, page 45
[7] In 1964 the National Income of Kenya and Tanganyika taken together was about 55 times less than that of Great Britain

In 1964 governmental and personal consumption constituted 83.6% of Kenya's Gross National Product: 85% of Tanzania's and 84.5% of Uganda's.

Lastly, a considerable part of the GNP is still being produced in the non-monetary sector which in 1966 comprised 22.9% of Kenya's GNP, 27.9% of Uganda's and 29.4% of Tanzania's.

SOURCES OF DOMESTIC ACCUMULATION

Right-wing Western economists intentionally ignore the possibilities which exist in the developing states for mobilising domestic resources for speeding up rates of economic growth. They usually over-emphasise the role of western 'aid' giving it the image of a panacea, as if, without it, the developing countries would never solve the problem of domestic accumulation. But this over-emphasis is usually made at the expense of the truth—that the amount of outflowing capital from developing states is often greater than the amount of inflow of the so-called Western aid. In practice it appears that it is the developing states who provide aid to Western countries and not vice versa. Moreover, the western 'aid' is scarcely directed to economic sectors most vital to the nation. For these reasons and others, some leaders of progressive African governments like Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Toure have expressed their dissatisfaction with the entanglements always attached to this type of 'aid'. Such leaders have proclaimed policies generally known as 'Self-Reliance', aimed at promoting greater participation of domestic resources in financing development plans.

Which are these possibilities? These may include the introduction of a progressive (radical) tax system; maximum use of and more effective employment of resources in the commercial banks, postal savings accounts insurance companies, savings societies and the like. Secondly creating new jobs to take in unemployed and underemployed persons. Thirdly increased use of production capacities and the nationalisation of the major means of production belonging to foreigners.

Let us briefly examine these methods and ways of mobilising more resources.

1. Progressive Tax System: Tax revenue plays and will for some time to come continue to play an important role as a source for financing development plans. In Kenya tax revenue has constituted between 69-72% of the total budget revenue for the five years 1961-1966. During the financial year 1966/67 tax revenue was 87% of Tanzania's total budget income; and in the same year it comprised 77.0% of Uganda's total budget income.

A significant portion of the tax revenue derives from indirect taxation. Import, Excise and Stamp duties; petrol and oil tax; traffic

licenses and fees; land premiums, royalties and other licence fees—all these constituted 61% of the total tax revenue in Kenya during the financial year 1965/66 [8]; in Tanzania 69.7% in the financial year 1966/67 [9]; and 68.8% of Uganda's total tax revenue in 1966[10]. The predominance of indirect taxation suggests that it is the broad masses who bear the greater weight of tax burden by paying it through retail prices

Less emphasis is laid on direct taxation. Property tax is altogether non-existent. In East Africa, instead, there is a mere 10% Corporation Tax which has remained constant since colonial days. Since January 1968 Tanzania has raised the Corporation Tax to 40% or 8 shillings in every 20. In addition to that, there is a company tax of 27½% which is much lower than company tax levy in other countries.

Besides that, both Kenya and Uganda have charters for security of investments, remittance of profits and repatriation of capital. They also have perhaps the most generous tax holiday for new private investors—initial investment deduction allowance of 20% for new industrial buildings and machines and an annual deduction of 100%. There are other tax allowances not specified.

Tanzania, however, had made an initial attempt to introduce a progressive tax system. The new tax rates in Tanzania provide for one shilling per capita for the rural population; 3 shillings per capita for the wage-earning urban community and for higher income groups (which include the capitalists, traders, farmers and super-salaried employees) the tax equals 50-100 shillings per head. It is also important to note that people with income up to 2,000 shillings a year are exempted from taxation, which will include many workers, employees and peasants. The new tax rates however allow the greater part of private profit to go untaxed, especially if consideration is taken of companies' depreciation allowances.

In order to squeeze out these private profits from the pockets of foreign investors, traders, businessmen and rich farmers, greater emphasis should be laid upon direct taxation, and in the first place on the private property tax. There is also an urgent need to introduce a system of compulsory reinvestment of the overwhelming part of the private profits.

2. The need to make more effective use of resources in the private financial institutions (e.g. commercial bank, postal savings, insurance

[8] Republic of Kenya. *Economic Survey 1966.* page 81
[9] *Background to the Budget 1966-67. An Economic Survey.* page 62
[10] *Uganda. Background to the Budget* 1966-67. page 57 Appendix II

companies, building societies, hire purchase companies and the like): During the British colonial administration in East Africa these financial institutions were used as powerful instruments for maintaining full control over the national resources by the Europeans and Asians. Even after ascension to political independence by these countries, the financial institutions have never contemplated any positive changes in their credit and loan policies. In Kenya and Uganda these institutions are still the monopoly of foreign capital with their head offices in Britain and India. In 1966 there were 9 British banks with 80 branches and agents operating in Uganda. Kenya has seven foreign banks with branches and agents all over the country. Insurance companies and many societies dealing in financial transactions operating in both Kenya and Uganda are either branches of foreign companies or brokers working for foreign interests.

There are two important aspects of loans and credit policies of the commercial banks in Kenya and Uganda which reflect the general policies of international financial groupings (e.g. the IBRD, IMF etc) towards economic and technical 'aid' to developing nations. First, the banks refrain from making advances to projects whose profits can be realised only after a long period, irrespective of the dire necessity for such projects for the economic independence of the developing states. This pertains particularly to manufacturing projects. Secondly, the general tendency is to use most of the banks' resources to promote a rapid growth of local capitalism, although the foreign sector still receives much of the banks' credit and loans. For instance, credits and loans made by the Kenya Commercial Banks in 1967 to wholesalers, agricultural exporters and large businessmen was K£46 m or 67.6% of the total paid credits and loans during the year. But both were made on short terms for crop exports and to meet debt and tax expenses.

Between October and December, 1968 the advances to public and private sectors by the commercial banks rose from K£60.6 m. to K£68 m. and practically all of this increase being in the private sector was utilised to a large extent for the redemption of debts. The concentration of the advances in the private sector led to much capital outflow from Kenya between October and December 1968. This is reflected in the fall of the banks' liquidity at the end of December to 9.7% and reduced their balances with the Central Bank of Kenya from K£9.7m in October 1968 to K£5m. in December, 1968. At the end of January, 1969, this liquidity was further reduced to 6.5% [11]. In the above cited Report it is noted that since the devaluation of the £ the commercial banks have immensely increased their advances to the private sector for 'repayment of short-term debts' and to 'speed up foreign settlements.'

In Uganda much higher figures are recorded for the advances/deposit

[11] Central Bank of Kenya. *Second Annual Report* Year ended 30 June, 1968 pp 18,19

ratio. The ratio made a straight rise from 97.0% in March, 1962 to 133.9% in March, 1965. This was made possible by the emergence of a similar rise in the banks' deposits during the same period from £16.8m. to £29.2m. or about £4.1 m a year. The greater part of the rise in deposits resulted from more direct public involvment in monetary economy after the attainment of political independence. Contrary to the situation noted in Kenya, commercial banks in Uganda have tended to make comparitively more funds available for industrialisation than to any other single economic sector. Between June 1962 and December 1965, the advances made by commercial banks to Uganda's industry rose from £6m. to £10 m, equal to one-third of total bank advances made in 1965. By contrast advances made to agriculture in the same period only showed a slight rise from £1.7 m. to £2.8 m.

The activities of the commercial banks have remained overwhelmingly in favour of the private sector, although since December 1964 there have been increased advances to the public sector. This is denoted by the reduction on the bank's advances to the private sector from 83.4% in 1962 to 59.4% of the total advances in 1965; while advances to the public sector increased during this period from 16.6% to 40.6%.[12]

In Tanzania the government's nationalisation bill of 5 February 1967 brought all foreign financial institutions including the commercial banks under direct state ownership. This has given the Tanzanian government a free hand to direct the entire national monetary policy, including loans and credits. Prior to this, in June 1965 the government had introduced measures which regulated the movement of capital outside East Africa. This brought under control the transfers of profits, dividends, interests and private transfers abroad. The effectiveness of this control can be judged by the fall in the rates of capital outflow from £582,000 to £166,000 between August 1965 and March 1966; whereas the net capital inflow in the same period rose from £276,000 to £892,000.[13] Its positive effect was again felt in mobilised domestic resources for the Five Year Plan 1964-1969. According to the plan it was expected that 78% of the total Central Government development expenditure would come from external loans and grants and internal resources were to contribute only 22% of the total expenditure. However, a government survey issued in April 1967, after introduction of the control and the nationalisation bill, revealed that during the first

[12] *Background to the Budget* 1966-67 page 37
[13] *Background to the Budget. An economic survey 1966-67* Page 46

half of the plan (July 1964–June 1966) external sources had accounted for only 40.9% while the remaining 59.1% represented internal resources. The peak was reached in the financial year 1965/66 when the internal resources accounted for 62% of total development expenditure in the year [14]

Other positive effects of the nationalisation of the banks are detectable in the rise in the ratio of total bank advances to deposits: from 72.6% in December 1962 to 96.2% in December 1965. In any case, during the same period the banks reduced their advances to industries from 16% to 9% of their total advances. Instead, they stepped up their short-term credits to commerce from 17% to 30%. Agriculture received only 1% more than it received in 1962 (i.e. from 27% to 28%). Credits to government services were also reduced from 34% to 24%.

Other financial institutions which includ building societies and hire purchase companies (based mainly in Kenya) do not as yet play an important role in financing development plans. Apparently this may be due to the official view held by the ruling people in Kenya which claims that these private institutions may only deal with such activities as 'the purchase of houses and consumer durables' (e.g. motor cars, refrigerators). [15] As these institutions control large public funds which in 1966 amounted to K£17.1m., or nearly 99% of the total money held by all the private institutions in Kenya, the pursuance of such a policy would mean that an important part of domestic resources has to be diverted into private consumption. This tendency is encouraged by the fact that the hire purchase companies and building societies offer high rates of interest to the commercial banks on loans received from them. And, since the commercial banks are operating purely on a profit-motive basis, higher interest attracts very large funds into these institutions at the expense of the volume of credits to the economic sector.

EXTERNAL TRADE

External trade plays a big role in a developing economy like that of East Africa, both in terms of resources for development and in the overall contribution it makes to the Gross National Product. For example, Kenya's exports in 1966 were 22.9% and imports 31.2% of her GNP. Tanzania's exports in 1965 constituted 30.5% and imports 29.3% of her GNP. In the same year Uganda's exports and imports were 33% and 25.9% respectively of her GNP.

Naturally, such a heavy dependence on the world market cannot but

[14] *A Mid-term Appraisal of the Achievements under the Five Year Plan July 1964 -June 1969.* Dar es Salaam April 1967. pp 16.17.
[15] Central Bank of Kenya *Second Annual Report* page 24

place economic progress, including capital accumulation, greatly under the direct influence of the constant falls and rises in the prices of raw materials and industrial commodities. This is borne out by the increasingly heavy losses being sustained by the developing states in their trade with the West. For instance, Kenya's overseas trade losses, half of them to Britain, rose from K£24.3m. in 1962 to K£50.lm. in 1966. Despite her active trade balance with her neighbours (Uganda and Tanzania) the losses still stand high at K£32.3m.

This constant fall in the prices of the raw materials exported to the world market by the developing nations takes place regardless of rises in export quantity. Kenya's chief export commodities are coffee, tea, sisal, meat and meat products which in 1966 constituted 58.2% of the total value of her overseas export. The quantity of exported coffee increased in 1966 by 42% over the quantity in 1965, yet the price realised from coffee exports fell by 7% below the 1965 level. The quantity of meat and meat products rose by 26% yet the return fell by 4%. Although on the overall income from overseas trade in 1966 there was an increase of K£11m. over the 1965 level, this was chiefly due to the quantitative rise in exported commodities despite the fall in export prices.

In terms of trade, the constant fall in the prices of raw materials while those of industrial goods continue to make a steady rise, means that the developing nations are forced to pay increasingly more for the same quantity of imports. This is reflected in the decline in the investment goods which they purchase in the world market in exchange for their raw materials. In 1966 Kenya's import of manufactured goods was 65.9% of her total import value. Between 1964 and 1966 her import of investment goods has shown a decline from 17.6% to 16.2% Consumer goods consisting mainly of durable items comprise about 29% to 31% of total import value.

Although Uganda's overseas trade maintains a favourable balance, the prices of individual export commodities are affected by the world market fluctuations. The chief export commodities for Uganda are coffee, cotton and copper which comprise about 88% of the total value of her overseas exports. Despite this favourable trade balance, coffee prices fell by £5m. or by 14% in 1966 against 1965, notwithstanding the rise of 13% in coffee exports. Exports rose from £64.4m. in 1964 to £77.1m in 1966, while imports rose from £32.8m. to £41.8m. in the same period. The maintenance of a favourable trade balance is therefore due to an excess of export quantity over import.

Tanzania which enjoys the same favourable trade balance as Uganda is also not free from the world market's price-scissors. The price of sisal, one of the chief export commodities fell from 147% in 1963 to 80% in

1966; and the price index for cotton also shows a fall from 98% to 83% and that of tea from 125% to 89% during the same period.[16]

These price falls were recorded despite a marked rise in quantity of exported sisal from 214.3 thousand tons to 221.5 thousand tons; cotton nearly doubled from 45.7 to 77.7 thousand tons and tea from 4.9 to 6 thousand tons during the same period. These three export crops constitute about 44.6% of Tanzania's overseas export value.

Tanzania and Uganda, unlike their neighbour Kenya, tend to restrict their import of luxury goods, a factor partly responsible for the favourable balance of trade. Whereas the import of these goods by Kenya constitutes about 30% of her total import value, they take only about 8% of Uganda's and Tanzania's import expenses. Kenya could greatly improve her overseas trade balance by reducing her expenses on these luxury commodities. More trade with other African and developing states would also help her to improve the balance of trade. And trade with the socialist countries always carries favourable terms and mutual benefits. Unfortunately, at present trade between East Africa and the socialist camp is extremely meagre.

Increased export of industrial commodities to substitute for some raw materials would decrease the effects of the capitalist market scissors. But this is not easy, since the monopoly groups of the West strongly oppose export of manufactured goods into the world market. This raises acutely the problem of enlarging home markets for the locally produced industrial commodities in East Africa, along the lines of the present East African Common market.

This sketchy examination of the sources of domestic accumulation in East Africa has not included such factors as unemployment and underemployment; increased use of the existing production capacities, etc. Nevertheless it enables us to draw certain conclusions.

Firstly the outflow of capital in the form of profits, dividends, interest and private transfers is the chief obstacle to domestic capital accumulation and rapid economic growth in East Africa. At least, in Tanzania the nationalisation bill is an attempt to remove this obstacle. But in Uganda and Kenya, despite recent imposed restrictions on exchange, it is the major factor preventing development. The solution lies in a change to radical state policies: first and foremost the seizure by the state of the economic power from the foreign monopolies. This would make possible the introduction of a centralised planning system in the use of national resources and enable the state to involve itself directly in the solving of the problems of accumulation and growth.

[16] *A Mid-Term Appraisal of the Achievements etc.* page 24. Tables 6 and 7.

Secondly between 75% and 90% of East Africa's population lives outside a monetary economy, under pre-capitalist conditions of production. These people do not accrue any material values to domestic accumulation. The extravagant expenditure of the growing bureaucratic class is a further obstacle to the growth of accumulation. The removal of these obstacles necessitates the introduction of radical social and economic reforms, affecting policy, the civil service, education and other fields.

Thirdly, rapid industrialisation including a sector of capital goods is an essential foundation for a self-sustaining economy.

Fourthly, development along a non-capitalist way leading away from capitalism towards socialism, in the final analysis offers the best solution to the problems of domestic accumulation and economic growth.

Fifthly, there is an urgent need to reduce the size of unproductive expenditures (first and foremost governmental and personal consumptions). This should be accompanied by an introduction of radical changes in the composition of the state budget estimates to exclude items which relate to unproductive expenditure.

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Behind the 1970 South African Elections

WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT

Peter Mackintosh

When thieves fall out, honest men come into their own.

—English proverb

Elections to the House of Assembly, South Africa's central legislature, will take place on April 22, 1970 – one year ahead of the scheduled time. Normally one would refer to these as general elections, but this term has no meaning in the South African context. For the first time in the history of respresentative institutions in South Africa, the new House of Assembly will consist of White representatives elected by Whites for Whites only, all vestiges of the Non-White franchise having been finally eliminated.

The Assembly elections will be the fourth since the Nationalist Party came to power 22 years ago. The Nationalist Party defeated the United Party under General Smuts in 1948, and was re-elected with an ever–increasing majority in 1953, 1958, 1961 and 1966. In 1948 the Nationalist Party won 70 of the 153 seats, the United Party 65, the Labour Party six, the Afrikaner Party nine and there were three Natives' Representatives. By 1966, the number of seats in the Assembly had been increased to 170, of which the Nationalists won 126, the United Party 39, and the Progressive Party 1, with the remaining four going to the 4 Whites returned by the Coloured electorate in the Cape. With the Nationalist Party in an apparently impregnable position, why has Vorster decided that an early election is necessary? He stated his reasons when he announced his decision at the Bloemfontein congress of the Nationalist Party on September 16, 1969. Reports were going out to the world that the Nationalist Party was divided and powerless – and nothing could do more damage to South Africa than this.

> This is so because we live in a dangerous world. Because we cannot afford to let the world get the idea that South Africa has an unstable government, the Cabinet decided that there must be a demonstration of the power of the Nationalist Party as never before in South Africa. The way to do that is to go to the electorate.

The election has been called by Vorster, therefore, as a means of eliminating his opponents and restoring unity in the ranks of the Nationalist Party.

VERLIGTES AND VERKRAMPTES

Tension between the so-called 'verligtes' (enlightened) and 'verkramptes' (hidebound) in the Nationalist Party has been mounting steadily throughout the sixties. Vorster himself has estimated that since 1948 there have been no fewer than 13 breakaway groups to the right, all of which have been decisively defeated by the Nationalist Party in elections. But the very fact that for the first time all the resources of the Nationalist Party are being mobilised to crush the verkramptes shows that the revolt this time is of a different order.

The Nationalist Party hierarchy decided to use the 1969 congresses as a testing ground, and formulated four resolutions which in its opinion embodied the points of difference between the two groups. The resolutions called for a motion of confidence in:

1. The Nationalist Party's policy of co-operating with the English-speaking section of the population in order to strengthen the basis of White Supremacy.
2. The Government's immigration policy.
3. The so-called "outward" policy of extending contacts with African countries like the former British protectorates, Malawi and others which may be induced to breach the O.A.U. embargo.
4. The comprise policy on mixed sport worked out by the Vorster Government in the preceding year.

The stand of the verkramptes on these four points is:

1. The English-speaking section of the population cannot be relied upon to defend White supremacy, and in any case co-operation with the English will mean ultimately the destruction of Afrikaner culture. Afrikanerdom is the only safe bastion of baasskap, and Afrikanerdom can only be strengthened and kept pure in isolation.
2. Of the average of 30,000 immigrants who come to South Africa each year, the overwhelming majority attach themselves to the English-speaking section of the population and vote for the Opposition. A large proportion of them (Portuguese, Italians, etc.,) are 'as near as

dammit to Non-Whites' and as Catholics are a threat to the Dutch Reformed Church.

3. Co-operation with Black Africa will not strengthen but will undermine white supremacy in Southern Africa. In particular, the admission of Black diplomats to South Africa will tend to bend the colour bar.
4. The same applies to the new mixed sport policy in terms of which Maoris would be admitted to South Africa as members of the next rugby team from New Zealand. Any concession to world pressure would be merely the thin end of the wedge of ultimate total integration of the races.

The Nationalist Party's four motions were unanimously endorsed by the congresses in South West Africa, the Cape, Natal and the Free State, but in the Transvaal the voting on the sports policy resulted in 11 delegates opposing the resolution and 7 abstaining. The opposition was led by Dr. Albert Hertzog M.P. and former Cabinet Minister, and Mr. Jaap Marais, M.P. for Innesdal.

The dissidents were given two months to conform with the majority decision, and five did so before the Transvaal congress had even concluded. But the refusal of the remainder to back down immediately forced Vorster to take the next step in his bid to crush them – the calling of the general election. No doubt he hoped, and perhaps still hopes, that an election will result in the ejection of the Hertzogites from Parliament and the consequent waning of their influence.

The direct consequence of his action, however, was the formation of the Herstigte Nationale Party (the Reconstituted Nationalist Party) at the Pretoria conference of 'verkramptes' on October 25. Dr. Hertzog was elected leader and the head committee of 60 now includes three other M.P.s – Mr. Jaap Marais and Mr. Louis Stofberg who were expelled from the Nationalist Party at the same time as Hertzog, and Mr. Willie Marais who resigned of his own accord to join them. Those who attended the Pretoria conference testified to the spirit of fanticism which filled the more than 1,000 delegates from all parts of the country who attended.

Rand Daily Mail political correspondent George Oliver commented:

> It was the best organised and most crisply run political congress I have ever attended, surpassing by far the normally well-conducted Nationalist congresses of the past few years. What had emerged by the time it ended .... was the nucleus of a militant Right-wing political force that has set out to make a determined bid to steer Afrikaner Nationalism back to its course in the pre-Vorster eras of D. Malan, Mr. Strijdom and Dr. Verwoerd. To do this it will base its public appeal on a reversion to old-style narrow Nationalist policy aimed at perpetuating the complete hold of Afrikanerdom over all spheres of South African national life. However outmoded and repugnant this approach might seem if judged by today's political standards, at least one thing is clear: skilfully used, it is capable of making a devastating emotional impact on a large number of Nationalists.

At the conference itself the sum of R54,000 in cash and pledges was raised in 35 minutes, and a target of R600,000 set for the general election fund. HNP committees have been set up in every constituency in the country, and the party plans to put up at least 100 candidates. The Nationalist paper *Die Burger* has conceded that the intervention of the HNP can result in the loss of a number of marginal seats at present held by the Nationalist Party.

'The men of the Hertzog party are no broomsticks. They use an attractive idiom of "Afrikanerskap" and escapism. They are skilled in the exploitation of a variety of grievances.'

The issue as posed by Hertzog on the sports policy is distressingly familiar.

> Rugby matches are associated with eating and dancing parties and social mixing where young men and women will associate with Non-Whites. This social intercourse with Non-Whites would soon be followed in other spheres of the community, and so we will be faced with the systematic and rapid dismantling of all apartheid, the salvation of the White man in South Africa.

This was the policy which brought the Nationalist Party victory over the United Party in 1948. This was the policy which the Nationalist Party has consistently put before the electorate ever since, and which time and again won it thumping majorities at the polls. This was the policy which the Nationalist Party has used as the ultimate justification for the repressive laws and the reign of police terror which it has imposed on the country. Against the 'swart gevaar' (black menace) any tactic is justified, including the suspension of the rule of law and the torture and murder of political prisoners.

The only difference is that at the next election in April 1970 it will be the HNP, not the Nationalist Party, which is placing this issue before the voters. Vorster, by contrast, will be having to defend his so-called 'outward' policy – co-operation with the English and Black Africa etc. No wonder the HNP is taking the line that the Nationalist Party has sold out to the 'Sappe', to the enemies of the volk, and that Afrikanerdom will only be safe in the hands of the HNP. Are we, then, back to 1934, when Malan broke away from Hertzog to form his HNP? (and the fact that the new party has these initials is no accident). In the sense that Afrikanerdom is now split from top to bottom – yes, though we will not know until the April election just how serious the split will prove to be. Nevertheless, it is a fact that for the first time since the demise of the Afrikaner Party, the authority of the Nationalist Party to speak in the name of the whole Afrikaner people is being effectively challenged.

In other respects, however, the situation is hardly comparable. In 1934, General Hertzog was in alliance with General Smuts within the

framework of a single party. The Malan breakaway at that time was aimed at withdrawing Afrikaner support from the United Party and uniting it behind the banner of the Nationalist Party. Today the bulk of Afrikanerdom has the Vorster-led Nationalist Party as its representative, and the verkramptes are rebelling against their own leadership. True, the issues which are being canvassed are very much the same; but the form of the rebellion is essentially different.

CHANGE IN AFRIKANERDOM

The reason for this is that the position of Afrikanerdom has greatly changed in the last generation. When in 1934 Malan first issued his rallying call to the volk, the Afrikaner people could quite fairly regard themselves as underprivileged in relation to the rest of the White population. The bulk of the 300,000 poor Whites who constituted a serious social problem at that time were Afrikaners many of them young men and women thrown off the land and living in penury in the towns, unskilled, untrained and often in competition with Non-Whites for both housing and jobs. The income per head of Afrikaners was just over half that of non-Afrikaners. The heights of commerce, industry, mining and administration were dominated by non-Afrikaners. The Nationalist Party was built up (a) by a political campaign directed against the English on the one hand and the Non-Whites on the other and (b) by promoting Afrikaner economic enterprises and Nationalist penetration of the trade union movement. The work of Albert Hertzog and his cronies amongst the mineworkers is often considered to have turned the tide for the Nationalists on the Reef and made possible the decisive breakthrough in the 1948 elections.

Today, however, the position of the Afrikaner in South African society is very different. For one thing, he is no longer a rural animal, no longer a Boer. Whereas in 1911 more than 80 per cent of the Afrikaners lived in the rural areas, by the time of the 1936 census this figure has dropped to 48 per cent and by the 1951 census to 31 per cent. By 1960 only 6 per cent of the white population as a whole lived in the rural areas, so it is clear the urbanisation of the Afrikaner has continued apace. Today almost 80 per cent of the Afrikaners live in the towns.

The urbanisation of the Afrikaner has seen his steady conquest of more and more positions in the urban economy, as represented by the following percentages:

	Commerce	Industry	Finance	Mining	Total
1936	8	3	5	1	5
1966	30	10	15	10	26

These figures represent only the private sector of the economy. In addition, Afrikaners dominate in the State administration, the army, police force, and the state and semi-state corporations, as well as in agriculture. The result is that the income per head of the Afrikaner is now estimated to be at least 80 per cent of the non-Afrikaner amongst the White population.

These figures, of course, are averages, and conceal the fact that together with economic development has gone class stratification among the Afrikaner people. At the one end of the spectrum we see the gigantic new Afrikaans finance houses, banks and insurance companies, industrial and mining companies, conglomerates like Rembrandt and Federale Mynbou which, together with the State administration and corporations, have produced a new type of Afrikaner in tune with the modern technological era of industrial capitalism – in other words, an Afrikaner bourgeoisie, together with its concomitant parasites like the professional men, writers and journalists, administrators and technocrats, who have contributed so much to the formulation of the new 'outward' policy for which the Nationalist Party now stands. At the other end of the scale are the Afrikaner workers – the mine workers and building workers, the civil servants in the lower echelons, the railway workers, policemen, prison warders, all of whom are wage earners with no capital assets except their labour power. Compared with most Africans, of course, the White workers are highly paid. But thousands of them at the lower end of the scale are still little above the level of poor Whites. Moreover, the Afrikaner has seen the inevitable concomitant of capitalist development – a growing increase in the gap between the owners of the means of production on the one hand and the mass of wage earners on the other.

It is this class stratification which is basically at the root of the conflict between the verligtes and the verkramptes. Writing in the November 1969 issue of the *New Nation*, Dr. Denis Worrall, senior lecturer in political science at the University of South Africa, dealing with the question of 'Mr. Vorster and the Right', said:

> The relative socio-economic uniformity of the Afrikaners is a thing of the past. They fill out the White South African middle class and spill over into the upper income brackets, with the result that the Afrikaners of Waterkloof, with their Mercedes, boxer and swimming pool status symbols, have about as little in common with the Afrikaners of Pretoria West as the Bishopscourt English have with the Afrikaners of Goodwood. . . . The range of interests represented within the Nationalist Party has been greatly widened, and new ideological demands have been made which the leadership has found increasingly difficult to accommodate.

Dr. Worrall's linking of the Afrikaners of Waterkloof with the English of Bishopscourt is not far-fetched. Like all capitalists, the

Afrikaner has often found his thirst for profits stronger than his nationalism. Dr. Rupert of Rembrandt is one example of a one-time Nationalist bitter-ender who has been 'mellowed' by high finance into a cosmopolitan preaching a spurious policy of 'partnership' between Black and White, and who has linked his all-Afrikaans South African companies with English, American, Canadian, German and Dutch companies.

MERGING OF INTERESTS

A more complex operation was the merging of interests controlled by Federale Mynbou with their counterparts in Anglo-American in 1963, leading ultimately to Anglo-Americans's General Mining and Finance Corporation passing into Federale control. Despite criticism of this move in sections of the Nationalist press as a sell-out to 'Hoggenheimer', Federale Mynbou has since extended its contacts with non-Afrikaans business houses, and their example has been followed by many other Afrikaans business houses. The tendency is for English and Afrikaans big business to become more and more intertwined. Furthermore, Afrikaans capital is co-operating more and more outside the country with foreign capital – in Africa, Europe, South America and other places – as well as attracting and accepting foreign capital in association with its development inside South Africa itself. It was inherent in the development of Afrikaner capitalism that it could not be contained within the border of the Afrikaans community, which was too small and too poor to sustain its further growth.

It is when seen in relation to this burgeoning of the interests of the Afrikaner bourgeoisie that Vorster's so-called 'outward' policy begins to take on a new significance. Let us consider the four points again – co-operation with the English, immigration, expansion in Black Africa, and finally the new sports policy. All these can now be seen to be essential to the needs of the Afrikaner bourgeoisie, as indeed of the entire South African bourgeoisie, whose interests the Vorster Government is faithfully serving.

An example of the manner in which these new developments were splitting Afrikanerdom was provided by the so-called labour experiment on the mines in 1964 – and let it be remembered this was in the Verwoerd era, long before Vorster was ever thought of as a possible Prime Minister.

According to a statement in the House of Assembly on June 8, 1965, the Minister of Mines said there was a shortage of more than 2,000 Whites on the mines, including 300 skilled artisans. It had proved impossible to recruit adequate numbers of immigrants from overseas to fill these vacancies. Faced with this threat to productivity, the Chamber

of Mines and the leaders of the White Mineworkers' Union put forward a plan whereby White miners would be promoted to higher status with higher pay, in return for allowing 'responsible' African boss-boys to take over some of their functions.

The scheme was endorsed by the Government Mining Engineer and introduced on four gold mines in the Transvaal and Orange Free State as an experiment, later extended to a further eight mines, including at least one from each mining group. The plan, in other words, was to bribe the White mineworkers to accept the dilution of labour over which they had fought a minor war in 1922 — and the plan had the backing of the Nationalist Government.

Unfortunately for the Government and the profit-seekers, though the scheme was received with enthusiasm by the White miners who participated in it and got substantially higher pay, a rebel group of White miners, led by Advocate Dr. L.J.E. 'Ras' Beyers and supported by certain Nationalist M.P.s, formed an Action Committee to oppose the experiment which, they maintained, would breach the colour bar and lead to the downfall of the White man. The dispute led to complete disruption both in the industry and in the union, with thousands of workers on both sides striking for and against the scheme. So great was the pressure that the Government was compelled to intervene, and the experiment was suspended. But the Action Committee persisted with its campaign against the union leadership until finally, in November 1966, the Action Group gained control of the executive committee. The new general secretary, M. F. Short, took an oath to protect the interests of the White worker 'unto death' and to fight all forms of 'liberalism and leftism' and also the influence of the Broederbond. 'Ras' Beyers, as adviser to the executive committee, was given a full-time appointment, but legal action by the former secretary prevented his holding the job. Beyers was later disbarred as an advocate because of his conduct during the disturbances, and went farming in Botswana. He was deported from that country by President Seretse Khama after a speech at a verkrampte public meeting in the Transvaal in June 1969 in which he attacked 'kaffirs, Jews and English'.

In his speech Dr. Beyers said he was a card-carrying Nationalist, but the Nationalist leaders were now acting like 'kaffirboeties'. He used the word 'kaffir' purposely, he said, because too much was done for the blacks in South Africa. 'Everything which the Government does for the kaffirs with our money is nothing but disguised communism. In certain ways we are worse than the communists—we do things for the kaffirs out of love'.

On leaving Botswana, Dr. Beyers said he was convinced the Nationalist Government had had a hand in his deportation. He was one of those present at the foundation conference of the HNP on October 25, 1969,

and donated R500 to the funds of the new party.

One of the by-products of the strife in the Mineworkers' Union was the formation in 1965 by a group of Action Committee members, led by Mr. H.J.J. Terblanche, of a new political party, the Conservative Party, to oppose the Government on two main issues, the colour-bar experiment and the concept of ultimate independence for the Bantustans. The men concerned in the formation of the new party complained that they were under surveillance by the Security Police, but this did not prevent Terblanche from later becoming an official of the union after the ousting of the 'verligte' leadership, and he is today a member of the Head Committee of Hertzog's HNP.

In April 1969 the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* reported:

> The verkrampte Hertzog group has launched an extensive and carefully planned campaign to capture control of the whole trade union movement in South Africa. They regard this as a vital step towards the eventual establishment of an extreme Right-wing party in the next few years.

The paper reported that the same funds which had enabled Dr Hertzog to capture the Mineworkers' Union in the 1930's were available for his present campaign.

The *Sunday Times* report was confirmed by trade union leader J.H. Liebenberg, chairman of the Railway Artisan Staff Association, who told the Nationalist paper *Die Beeld* that the entire white population of South Africa must be on guard against the danger of organised verkramptes, who were busily engaged in swallowing up power positions on all levels. Mr. Liebenberg said the Confederation of Labour, normally regarded as Government supporting, had become the home of the verkramptes in the trade union movement. They were against the outward policy of the Government and were 'sitting like vultures on the branches of trees and waiting to descend when the Prime Minister mades a mistake'. Trade union funds were being misused for political purposes, he said.

The Nationalist newspaper *Dagbreek*, in July 1969, confirmed that a serious clash was threatening in the trade union movement. The essence of the trouble, it said, was division among certain trade union leaders on the increasing number of non-Whites being appointed to white posts. There were indications, however, that this was only the tip of the iceberg. Under the surface were grievances on wages, housing etc. incited by persons with political motives behind the scenes.

The story circulating among workers, said *Dagbreek*, was that the

Nationalist Party was no longer concerned with the interests of the worker, the small businessman and the small farmer. The party was only concerned with the interests of big capital. 'A slogan much heard is: "The National Party rules the country but Harry Oppenheimer rules the Party"'.

Another trade union leader on the head committee of the HNP is Mr. Gert Beetge, general secretary of the white Building Workers' Union and senior deputy chairman of the Co-ordinating Council of Trade Unions. On November 5, 1969, Mr. Beetge issued a call to the white workers to support the HNP. He said the white worker was threatened by the Government's laxity in applying its job reservation laws. The HNP, said Beetge, was putting forward two immediate demands on behalf of the White workers: That every white worker get 12 paid public holidays a year, and That all industrial councils be exclusively white.

> No Indian or Coloured has the right to decide on the future of the White worker. If Coloureds can be removed from Parliament, there is no reason why they cannot be removed from all industrial councils.

He concluded: 'I am convinced that every Afrikaner worker will feel truly at home in the Herstige Nasionale Party'. It was perhaps symptomatic that on the same evening as Beetge was making his call to the White workers, Prime Minister Vorster, speaking at a banquet of the Federated Chamber of Industries, was defending the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Commenting on the catastrophic fall in share prices which had resulted in a lot of small investors being ruined, Vorster said the stock exchange was not a gambling house. It was a means of mobilising funds for investment and should be regarded as such.

Other prominent figures in the Nationalist world have also contributed to the image of the Nationalist Party as the spokesman of wealth. In the annual report of the Federale Mynbou-General Mining Group in 1966, its chairman, Mr. W.B. Coetzer, said the gold mining industry would soon be affected by the shortage of white labour unless better use could be made of whites in supervisory capacities by employing competent non-whites to help them.

And in 1968 the managing director of Federale Mynbou, Mr. T.F. Muller, was elected President of the Chamber of Mines. In the eyes of the average white miner, engaged in a struggle to stop the advancement of black labour, these two gentlemen must have appeared to have gone over to the enemy.

Thus the programme of the HNP which was adopted at the foundation conference on October 25 was aimed at the 'little man' and faithfully embodied all his fears and prejudices. Its salient points were:

> The national identity of the Afrikaner nation and all other peoples must be rigidly maintained at all times.

No mixing of any kind between black and white. No fusion of English and Afrikaner cultures.

National life must be furthered on a Christian National basis.

All anti-Christian and anti-national moves towards cultural unity, racial mixing and the development of a world state must be opposed.

The present antiquated parliamentary system must be done away with and replaced by the Presidential system of the old Boer republics (a proposal specifically rejected at the Transvaal congress of the Nationalist Party).

No diplomatic relationships should be established solely for commercial or financial reasons.

Immigration must be confined to those of Protestant origin brought into the country, not for economic reasons, but to strengthen the white population on a Christian National basis.

No immigrant should be granted citizenship unless he could read, write and talk Afrikaans.

Non-Whites must develop on their own lines in their own areas, but always under the direct control of the Whites.

An economic policy must be followed, not simply to produce material goods for consumer use, but to ensure a decent living standard for all people, to protect the weaker section from exploitation, to ensure land ownership for Whites, to encourage the growth of small business organisations and independent small farmers, as opposed to the wealthy mass farming organisations and monopolies.

On relations with the English-speaking section, the programme adopted on October 25 said the definition of Afrikanerdom must include those English-speaking members of other races who subscribe to the history, striving and calling of the Afrikaner people. Bilingualism will be maintained with the English-speaking people having the right to develop their own cultural entity within the terms of the South African Republican constitution. The revised programme of principles issued by the HNP early in November, however, stated firmly that 'the Government must maintain Afrikaans as the official language, recognise English as the second language and encourage the studying of other languages.' This programme of principles, is essentially petty-bourgeois and nationalist, with echoes of Nazi Party of Hitler before he came to power, or the Poujadist movement in post-war France. But it has its roots deep in the history of the Afrikaner in South Africa, and there is no doubting the fanaticism with which it is being propagated by its supporters. The battle lines have been drawn, and the contestants are locked in struggle for the adherence of Afrikanerdom. Since Vorster announced the date of the general election, and especially since the formation of the H.N.P., meetings of both factions have been held in an atmosphere of extreme tension, frequently accompanied by violence.

What it might be asked, has become of the Broederbond, the secret organisation behind the Nationalist Party on which the unity of the volk was founded and on which it has depended for the maintenance of its authority in all spheres of Afrikaner activity? Part of the answer seems to be that the Broederbond itself is split. The *Sunday Times*

reported that the Broederbond used its influence to bring the rebels to heel, but failed. The waning of the Broederbond 's influence was probably an inevitable consequence of the accession of the Nationalist Party to power. In any case, according to the *Sunday Times,* Dr. Hertzog has his own Broederbond – an organisation called the Afrikaner Orde. It was founded about 20 years ago by Dr. Hertzog and consists of about 600 members organised in secret cells called Heemrade. Its aim, says the *Sunday Times,* is

> to infiltrate various organisations and public bodies in the hope that it may ultimately obtain control of the Nationalist Party– and hence the Government– from within ... The Orde has been particularly successful in infiltrating the Broederbond – so successful indeed that it has become a secret society within a secret society and nobody in the Broederbond knows who its members are.

Nobody, that is except Dr. Piet Meyer, chairman of the board of governors of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, chairman of the Broederbond, a well-known verkrampte and member of the head committee of the Afrikaner Orde. The Nationalist Party has formally proscribed the Afrikaner Orde to its membership and Dr. Hertzog and Dr. Meyer have publicly disclaimed any connection with it, but there is little reason to believe that it has in any way diminished its activities.

One question remains to be answered: how does the split between the verligtes and the verkramptes affect the national liberation movement?

Since South Africa is ruled by the White Supremacists, any division in their ranks is of importance because it may affect the manner in which power is exercised. But the quarrel between verligtes and verkramptes holds out little hope of more progressive policies emanating from the Parliament which will be installed after the April 22 general election. Verligtes and verkramptes are vying for the honour of being the most reliable upholders of White domination, and on all essentials – pass laws, group areas, Bantustans, police terror etc. – there is no difference between them. If anything, the whole dispute will succeed only in dragging the entire Nationalist movement further to the right. As for the United Party, it stands impotently on the sidelines, incapable of deriving any advantage from the conflict, hoping only that Vorster may be so weakened in the election that he will be compelled to enter into a coalition with the United Party to remain in power. The national congress of the United Party held in Bloemfontein in October 1969 pledged that the party would maintain and secure White leadership in South Africa.

In an editorial on 'The Nationalist conflict' in its issue of September 19, 1969, the organ of the African National Congress *Spotlight* said:

As for the Black majority, they have a long time ago ceased to expect any amelioration in their conditions of life from the all-White Parliament. For us the only solution lies in the difficult and dangerous path of a guerrilla war of liberation.

This does not mean that the dispute between verligtes and verkramptes is of no concern to the liberation movement. On the contrary, the split must be closely studied. The class structure of the society in which we live and the class interests of the ruling groups must be thoroughly analysed and understood if we are to work out correctly our strategy of struggle and decide where and how to strike the next blow for freedom.

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AFRICA

Notes and Comments

by Nxele

REVOLT IN LIBYA

Libya is known to many people as a country where dramatic World War II battles took place, where a Montgomery clashed with a Rommel. Recently this North African State, with a population of 600,000, has been in the news following the coup d'etat of September 1, 1969 which overthrew the corrupt monarchy, and declared the country a democratic republic.

After a century of colonialisation variously by Italy, Britain and America, Libya emerged in 1951 as an independent Kingdom in a state of utter poverty. Politically the new state fell from the 'start under Anglo-U.S. patronage and imperialists were quick to wrest from her concessions of a vital nature. Economically, Libya seemed to be doomed to an existence of perpetual dependence upon foreign aid. In a primarily agricultural economy, cultivation was narrowly confined to two physically separated coastal belts constituting less than 3 per cent of the country's total land area. There was no industry to talk about.

Then came the discovery of oil in 1958 and by 1961 Libya had made its initial entry into the international petroleum market. She rapidly became one of the world's major exporters of oil. For example between 1958 and 1964 gross domestic product had risen from about £52 million to over £334 million. Today, oil accounts for 99 per cent of Libya's export revenues. Libya's oil reserves are estimated at around 4,000 million tons. There are 38 companies exploiting the 24 are U.S. owned. And since the closure of the Suez Canal Libyan oil has become cheaper than that from the Arabian Gulf which comes to Europe via the Cape route.

All this fabulous oil wealth plus its unique geographic situation in a turbulent Middle East made Libya a happy hunting ground for Western imperialism. Aided by their placeman King Idris Senoussi, the British and U.S. imperialists turned Libya into an active centre of their strategic interests.

By the treaty of July 1953, London assured herself administrative and military privileges. Britain gained the privilege of deploying naval and air forces on Libyan territory. The civil airport of Tripoli was technically controlled by the Royal Air Force. Two R.A.F. squadrons are based on an airfield adjacent to the civil airport.

The United States wrested even more important concessions. The U.S. Wheelus Base near Tripoli is virtually a state within a state and is the biggest American training base outside the United States. It houses more than a thousand U.S. troops and their families. It has cinemas, a T.V. station, a sports stadium, car parks, shopping centres, air-conditioned houses, etc.

The Wheelus Base is a port of call for U.S. nuclear-carrying planes and a principal pillar of U.S. military dispositions in the Mediterranean.

For Britain the area is vital for many reasons. Great Britain is retreating militarily from East of Suez, CNETO has declined. And there is an additonal headache for the Western imperialists—the appearance of the Soviet Fleet in the Mediterranean.

Therefore the September 1 military takeover has come as a heavy punch at the imperialists.

Western imperialism had considered that the extreme poverty of Libya was a strong factor in ensuring its perpetual neocolonial control of the country. And bearing in mind the fact that the U.S. capital rate of profit in the area is second only to South Africa, the recent events in Libya are therefore of revolutionary significance.

And who are the revolutionaries? So far little is known of the army officers who have taken over power, except for the youthful picture of Colonel Maamar El Kedafi smiling out of the newspapers. Colonel El Kedafi, the President of the Revolutionary Council, is the leader of a

group of officers who since 1959 formed a secret 'Free Officers' organisation within the military academy. The Premier is Dr. Mahmoud Souleiman El Maghreibi, a trade union leader who was arrested by the Monarchy during the June War for agitating for strike action among dock workers in support of the Arab cause.

The revolution was timed to coincide with the absence from the country of King Idris who was in Turkey on sick leave (the 80-year-old gentleman had taken with him £20 million pocket money).

The first proclaimation of the Revolutionary Council stated its aims as:

> To build a revolutionary and progressive Libya which will fight racism and colonialism and attaches great importance to the spiritual values of the Koran ..... (*Droit et Liberte*, October 18, 1969).

The Revolutionary Council proclaimed the slogan of 'Liberty, Socialism and Unity' which is the same as that of the Arab Socialist Union of the United Arab Republic.

The newspaper *El Moujahid* (October 15, 1969) also reported spokesmen of the Revolutionary Council as saying:

> The Revolutionary Council attaches great importance to the unity of the countries of the third world and would bring about the victory of efforts against social and economic underdevelopment . . .

The French journalist and author Ania Francos posed the question to Colonel El Kedafi whether he believed in the class struggle. She got the reply:

> I am a Marxist, but some of my comrades are not yet. They are mostly patriots and revolutionaries.

In practice the new revolutionary government has granted $250,000 to the El Fatha revolutionary organisation of Palestine. It has taken a progressive stand in the Arab cause of of social revolution and resistance to Zionist imperialism. It has given notice to the Anglo- U.S. imperialist to quit their military bases.

The cancellation by the new Libyan government of a fat £128 million order for an air defence missile system from Britain is already being contested by the latter.

Both Britain and the United States, however, after some stiff behind-the-scenes resistance, have agreed to quit their bases early in 1970. Their departure is not made any happier by the fact that they will have to leave behind them considerable facilities and equipment which will be at the disposal of the revolutionary government.

CRISIS IN KENYA

Discussing the recent events in Kenya which have thrown the country into a state of turmoil, *The Times* (London October 31, 1969) had this to say:

> Since independence President Kenyatta has pursued moderate and conciliatory policies which have benefitted Kenya economically. But progress has inevitably been patchy and the degree of discontent seems to have unnerved the aging President . . .

The same editorial of *The Times* describes the opposition Kenya People's Union (K,P.U.) which has been banned by the Kenyatta government and its leader Odinga Oginga and his top lieutenants flung in jail as 'irresponsible'.

That 'discontent seems to have unnerved' President Kenyatta is pretty obvious.

For several months members of the Kikuyu trive have been oathed at none-other place than the Gatundu home of President Kenyatta. *The Observer* (London October 5, 1969) reports:

> The recent oathtaking is designed primarily to close the ranks of the Kikuyu and consolidate the tribe's dominant position in the Government before the elections expected in January or February . . .

Then came the assassination of Tom Mboya, the blue-eyed boy of the West, which reflected a vicious inner party jockeying for power within the ruling Kenya African National Union (K.A.N.U.)—particularly for the position of Presidency which Mzee Jomo Kenyatta is soon expected to vacate.

And without producing a shred of evidence Odinga Oginga, the progressive leader of K.P.U. has been accused by the powers that be of being the author of their present troubles and is accused of receiving unspecified sums of money from 'the communist countries'.

Matters came to a head when at the end of October President Kenyatta travelled in a motorcade to Kisumu, the home of Odinga Oginga, to inaugurate a $3 million hospital that had been built with Soviet aid.

Kisumu is also the stronghold of the K.P.U. and there Mzee Kenyatta chose to deliver a threatening speech spiced with swear-words and

sailed into Odinga Oginga who was seated among the guests of honour. 'K.P.U. is only engaged in divisive words . . .' cried the man who has allowed his Presidential palace to be used for oath-taking by members of his Kikuyu tribe. President Kenyatta added:

> We are going to crush you into flour. Anybody who toys with our progress will be crushed like locusts . . .

Such talk was enough to inflame and infuriate any decent crowd of people. Reports say that as Kenyatta's convoy began to move, spectators stoned the lead car. And the panicky police fired point-blank into the crowd killing nine people and wounding seventy.

This tragic and bloody incident at Kisumu was seized upon by the government to clamp a dusk-to-dawn curfew in the Kisumu region, to prohibit meetings of more than ten people and to arrest Odinga and all eight K.P.U. members of Parliament. The K.P.U. was banned.

Kenya Vice-President Daniel Rap Moi declared that the Kisumu incident was the 'brainchild of K.P.U. leadership and other hostile forces working against the state' (*Newsweek* November 10, 1969).

But some people in Kenya who in recent years have been seeing Communist plots behind every Kenyan bush, only sought to cover up the despicable corruption which led to Kenyan ministers tucking onto their inflated salaries additional tax-free gratuities. They seek to create a diversion for the internal struggle for power within K.A.N.U. which led to the murder of Tom Mboya. Above all, they seek to silence the voice of those who protest against the neo-colonialist grip over the country which the bourgeois press describes as 'moderate and conciliatory policies'.

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE SUDAN

Since the May 25 Revolution in the Sudan which ousted from power the local traditional bourgeois parties, there have been attempts by some imperialist newspapers to create confusion about what is going on in the country. The usual slant of some press reports suggest that there is 'growing friction' between the army officers who carried out the pre-dawn coup d'etat on May 25, 1969 and the Communists who rallied mass popular support for the move of the revolutionary army group.

However a report by Eric Rouleau of *Le Monde* (September 10, 1969), who made an extensive tour of the Sudan at that time, throws rather a fresh and interesting light onto the situation there.

He met Abdul Mahjoub, the General Secretary of the Sudanese Communist Party who had the following to say about the balance of power:

> Ours is an alliance between progressive forces and that part of the army which supported the popular uprising of October, 1964. At our Fourth Congress in October, 1967 we declared that a Western-type parliamentary regime no longer met the country's needs; that the reformist bourgeouisie was economically and politically too weak to bring about important changes based on a wide national front and headed by the working class . . .

Army Major Faruk Osman Hamadulla, who is also the Minister of the Interior, explained to the *Le Monde* correspondent:

> You see, it is impossible to introduce socialism without the help of the Communists as individuals and workers as a class. Those who try to separate us from our natural allies refuse to accept the transformation of society and are probably seeking to destroy us . . .

Eric Rouleau puts his finger on two vital factors which laid the basis for the downfall, firstly of the military regime of Ibrahim Abboud, overthrown in a popular uprising in October 1964, and secondly the El Azhari-Marghoub civilian regime overthrown on May 25. Those factors were the deplorable economic state of the country and the civil war waged against the Negroid people of the South.

The *Le Monde* correspondent says in his despatch:

> Exports are entirely agricultural and cotton accounts for 60 per cent. Foreign capital practically dominates the country's economic life: 80 per cent of the Sudan's industry is controlled from abroad, as is 70 per cent of the banking system. Average annual per capita income is $100, but this does not take into account unequal distribution of wealth .. . .

Not only did the preceding Sudanese governments fail to fight the colonial legacy of underdevelopment, but they also reduced the country to near bankruptcy.

In addition to all this the discredited governments waged a crippling civil war against the people of the Southern Provinces where separatist movements have arisen.

The new Sudanese government has promised to grant autonomy, within the Sudanese Democratic Republic, to the three provinces of the South. Discussing the views about the future of the South as outlined by Mr. Joe Garang, Minister for Southern Affairs and a recent contributor to this journal (No 37), the *Le Monde* correspondent says that

the government visualises the development of a democratic movement in the South allied and similar to the one existing in the north. In the words of Mr. Garang: 'The workers' alliance is indispensable for combatting the separatist attempts of foreign imperialists and Arab reactionaries who, by their policy of discrimination and repression, had fostered insurrection.'

CHAD: FRANCE'S NEW COLONIAL WAR

It is a terrible story of a Vietnam-type intervention all over again. In the role of the villain is an old performer—France. The stage is different. This time it is the West African State of Chad, a former French colony. The sequence of events follows a now-familiar, sickening pattern. French neo-colonialist stooge President Premier Francoise Tombalbaye was in trouble and faced the danger of being overthrown in a revolt which had engulfed the whole country and had swept within twelve miles of Fort Lamy, the country's capital.

Chad is a vast land-locked territory whose size is double that of France, but its population is only 3.5 million. To the North it shares border with Libya, to the West with Niger Republic, Nigeria and Cameroun, to the South with the Central African Republic and to the West the Sudan.

The country gained independence in the 1960 de Gaulle 'package deal' entered into with several of France's West African colonies. But from the very outset the independence of Chad was hardly worth the paper it was written on. France permanently based military troops in the territory in terms of the so-called defence agreements signed in 1960.

President Tombalbaye turned out to be not only an incompetent ruler, but also a corrupt and ruthless tyrant.

In a speech in June, 1969 he is reported, in a rare moment of truth, to have said of his administrators:

> They promptly cut themselves off from the people, who got the impression that independence merely meant the accession of a minority to coveted executive positions with all the privileges and creature comforts which that implies. (*Le Monde Weekly*. October 15, 1969)

But that piece of wisdom came too late to President Tombalbaye. For the last four years an armed revolt against his regime has been in progress. And what is significant is that leading figures in the anti-Tombalbaye rebellion are former members of his own cabinet.

There is for example Dr. Outel Bonno, a former Director of Health, who on June 13, 1969 was sentenced to five years hard labour for 'inciting revolt'.

The most organised rebel movement is the Chad Liberation Front (Frolina), led by Dr. Sidick, a former Cabinet Minister. Frolina has taken up arms against the neo-colonialist regime. Originally launched from the area known as Borkou Ennedi Tibesti in the North, Frolina has fanned out to the central provinces of the country and its activities reached the outskirts of Fort Lamy, the capital, to the extent that tourists are no longer permitted by the government to venture out of the capital.

True to form, Tambalbaye tried at first to dismiss the insurrection as insignificant 'banditry'.

But by March, 1969 President Tombalbaye had asked for and obtained help from the French Army Chad's 6,000 strong army had been virtually routed and partly decimated by severe setbacks in battles against the insurgents.

As far as the scale of the fighting goes, reports say that since the beginning of the year not a single day has passed without the French command recording at least one incident.

But the intervention of the French adds a new element to the situation. In mid-April Legionnaires flew from France to join paratroops and an armoured squadron which was already based in Fort Lamy, in terms of the 1960 defence treaty.

In addition France is undertaking a 'pacification' mission by which she hopes to assist the puppet regime to refurbish its administration. Heading the group to introduce administrative reform is former governor Pierre Lami, a hardened colonialist who served in several French colonies and Congo-Kinshasa. The present French military intervention is said to have already cost around $45 million.

The question might very well be asked why France, after heavy doses of bitter defeat in her colonial adventures in recent years, should have stuck out her neck in Chad.

Among the reasons is surely French interests in Biafra. Elsewhere it

has been suggested that France is taking advantage of its present activities in Chad to push arms into Biafra.

Whatever the full story of this sordid affair, it is bound in the long run to end up in one way—defeat for the interventionists and their puppets.

THE BEAUTY OF A ZULU BATTLE LINE

Scarlet Whitman

The beauty of a Zulu battle line
in ranks so dense to blind the day;
at Isandhlwana, a shudder well recalled:
close stacked sheaves of shining flanks
the roll and beat of pounding feet
the unison of sudden down swoop storm.
That short broad stabbing spear
scorning the hurled flight of old,
a feint to face to raise a shield
a thrust to catch a bared breast upward.
Feet iron bound, flesh forged on thorns
flat stamped in fevered dances,
now fly like mamba through the field
more feared than cheetah in faster flight;
black wings of war, a whispered death
a feathered impi in full fury cry.
No tanks no armoured phalanx
no bristling armies to withstand
new spears of gun drilled Shaka men
the solar teeth to eat the night.

(The poem refers to the historic Battle of Isandhlwana, January 1879. Zulu impis inflicted a shattering defeat on British imperial forces)

BOOK REVIEWS

A CENTURY OF OPPRESSION

Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950 by H.J. and R.E. Simons. Penguin Books, 21s.

'It is this combination of the worst features both of imperialism and colonialism, within a single national frontier, which determines the special nature of the South African system.' 'A new type of colonialism was developed in which the oppressing White nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people'. These pithy excerpts from the Communist Party programme contain the key not only to present-day South Africa but also the history that went into the making of it. The contradictions inherent within such a society are of many kinds, and of considerable complexity. As in any other capitalist society, various classes and social groupings have formed political parties which contend with one another for office within the all-white parliament. Their arguments and differences form the bulk of what is generally accepted as the political history of South Africa.

This is far from being the approach of Professor Jack Simons and his wife (Ray Alexander) whose newly published book traces a hundred years in the development of those movements (predominantly the African National Congress and its sister national movements of the Coloured and Indian people, and the Communist Party) which go to the root of the main contradiction of our country—between oppressors and oppressed—and aim at its revolutionary democratic transformation.

In preparing this volume, the writers faced a formidable task. A great deal of the material they needed is all but buried in hard-to-get-at archives and libraries, newspaper files and bluebooks. The sheer physical size of the present volume (seven hundred pages) its wealth of detail and references are a tribute to the diligence and perserverance of the authors of this scholarly work. Far more than their predecessors in this field (E.R. Roux, Jack Cope, Lionel Forman—whose untimely death

cut short his researches–and Mary Benson) the writers have been at pains to uncover every possible source of documentary information. This makes the volume a treasure-chest for future researchers and historians, for whom it marks a milestone and is in many ways a starting-point.

For the general reader however I fear that *Class and Colour* will be found heavy going. The detail is too rich, the pattern too intricate, for the non-specialist to absorb without rigorous concentration. The writers do not go out of their way to help him. The style is is straightforward enough. But the narrative is apt to go forward and backward in time without warning. Direct quotation is apt to continue in indirect paraphrase, and that in turn to merge into the author's continuous running commentary. Here (p. 459) is what I consider a fairly characteristic extract.

> In 1932 the communists stood alone on the peaks of revolutionary ardour, calling on the oppressed to follow them to freedom in a federation of independent African Republics. The course was plotted in a May Day manifesto. Overthrow British and Boer imperialism; confiscate the land, cattle and implements of landlords, companies and mission societies; divide the land among peasants and farm workers of all races; confiscate the mines, factories and all undertakings of the imperialist and capitalist robbers; forward to national independence under a workers' and peasants' government in a black republic. This was a formula for the pure socialist society at one fell swoop such as Bunting had pleaded for at the sixth world congress of the CI in 1928. His expellers had expropriated his policy without regard to the great debate on the two-stage revolution.

I have selected this passage because it seems to illustrate quite a number of the features which, for this reviewer, make the Simons book so disappointing. That 'on the peaks of revolutionary ardour'–is it not a sort of sneer, or at least rather patronising? And then the content of the May Day manifesto–one would much rather have had the text than a paraphrase, or better still a more fundamental theoretical document than a popular manifesto. Is it really true that this is a formula for 'the pure socialist society at one fell swoop'? To my mind, except for the call for a 'federation' which requires much more elucidation than the authors' fleeting reference, it contains little that is not in essence in our Freedom Charter. And it is defintely **not** the programme which Bunting had advanced in 1928 at the Congress of the International, and which blurred the national-liberation aspect of our struggle under generalities about socialism. The call for a fight against 'British and Boer imperialism', for African majority rule, are far removed from the incorrect arguments which the former leadership (not merely Bunting personally: he was there as its spokesman) advanced at the 1928 Congress, and it should be added that all too often this book fails to distinguish personal from collective views, and the latter are seldom presented at all.

More important, although the writers express themselves in support of the 1928 Congress's main conclusions about South Africa, this and a number of other passages evidence their lack of understanding of the basic theoretical analysis behind those conclusions. In their final chapter the authors correctly write that

> when joined to the world revolutionary movement through the Communist International, the party acquired the ideological equipment it needed to cope with the complexities of a society divided into antagonistic classes, races and nationalities. An important determinant of party policy was the International's formula for bringing about a synthesis between working-class and national liberation movements in the colonies. (Page 620)

But the content of Lenin's great contribution to Marxist theory in analysing twentieth century imperialism. and in laying the basis for the revolutionary anti-imperialist unity of workers and oppressed peoples; the impact and the working out of these dynamic concepts in South Africa—these vital aspects are neither elucidated nor illustrated.

There I think we come to the central weakness of this volume. In their Foreword the authors defend their 'essays in political criticism' of past leaders of the Communist, Labour and liberation movements by declaring that 'our purpose is to tell a story and at the same time give resisters of today a guide to the background of these controversies'.

An unrivalled method of analysis was at the disposal of the writers to accomplish this purpose: the Marxist approach of historical materialism. Both this volume and its readers suffer because they have not employed this method.

The working out of South African history and the evolution of the movements under discussion provide fascinating material Marxist research and education. How, under the hammer blows of historical realities the various social classes and national forces of South Africa have been moulded into the present-day confrontation; the development of the revolutionary working class and the national liberation movements into a fighting alliance striving for power; the transformation of Afrikaner nationalism into a fascist imperialism; the degeneration of the white labour movement into an appendage of the ruling class . . . all these changes and interactions, reflecting within one country the great world contradictions of our time—all these themes can only be comprehended within the framework of the dialectical and scientific approach of Marxism-Leninism. It is because the writers have, for whatever reason, preferred to concentrate in the main upon personalities rather than social forces and movements, because in their absorption in detail they have often failed to abstract and analyse truly crucial events and developments from an ideological standpoint, that their work, with all its merits, falls short of its purpose. Their numerous critical evaluations of individuals, (and these themselves are not always fair) fail in

their avowedly educational purpose because they are usually based on pragmatic, not principled grounds; and because they fail to take into account the **development** of movements and their leaders in the school of practice and the clash of ideas.

Space will allow me to select only one of quite a number of incorrect assessments which I feel spring out of this lack of historicism in what the authors themselves say is 'not a history' but 'an exercise in political sociology on a time scale'. I refer here to the event with which the book somewhat arbitrarily concludes–the dissolution of the Communist Party by its Central Committee on June 20, 1950, on the third reading of the Suppression of Communism Act. In general the note of rather vinegary criticism which runs through much of the Simon's comments on previous stages of the Party's history is entirely lacking in their account of the forties. Of this episode too we are told merely that the practical difficulties of underground work were too formidable and the 'experience of the German Communist Party under Nazi rule had shown the difficulty in passing from legal to illegal work without a pause'. Nevertheless, the German Communists overcame those difficulties, and so did their South African comrades who went ahead to regroup underground and rebuild the Party.

Dealing with this event, the 1962 Programme of the South African Communist Party says

> despite its great achievements and struggles, the Communist Party of South Africa proved incapable of surviving under illegal conditions, Legalistic illusions had penetrated into the ranks of the Party, including its leading personnel. The Party was unprepared and unable to work underground. These errors culminated in the dissolution of the Party upon the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act by the Nationalist Government in 1950.

The idea of dissolution, of liquidating a Communist Party, is foreign to the very concept of a 'Party of a new type'. Lenin's conditions of membership of the International (as quoted by the authors themselves) included the necessity to 'combine legal with illegal work'. The possibility of illegality is always present with a workers' revolutionary Party, even in the most democratic of bourgeois societies, let alone one such as the South African which, as soon as it sought to organise the colonised African masses, was always in a hunted position of, at best, semi-legality. This is not an accidental factor but arises out of the very nature of ths state itself as analysed by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Failure to deal with this question, in my opinion, shows a lack of regard for fundamental theoretical problems which is also reflected elsewhere in *Class and Colour*.

If, in the course of this review I have seemed to dwell at too great length on what I consider to be serious shortcomings in this work by Jack and Ray Simons, it is not because I deem it a bad or unimportant book. On the contrary, it is a most valuable and important contribution to which future historians will find themselves returning time and again. Quite apart from differences about their views or methods of presentation, they have opened up a gold mine of sources and information for which the entire liberation movement owes them a debt of gratitude.

A. Lerumo

KAUNDA AND THE WHITE SOUTH

The High Price of Principles by Richard Hall. Hodder & Stoughton, 35s.

In considering Zambia's future, the final chapter of this otherwise admirable book is devoted to an examination of the possibilities of defeating white rule in Southern Africa. Mr. Hall concludes:

> The central reality is that South Africa's present political structure is most unlikely to be changed within the next decade. The country has a powerful and flexible air force . . heavily armed regular forces and can quickly muster 60,000 militia . . . All organised African opposition has been broken down and a successful insurrection can be totally discounted. Nor are there any signs that guerillas from outside the country will be available in sufficient numbers and with enough ability to destroy white minority rule.

He correctly regards the armed struggle in Rhodesia as being the most crucial factor in analysing the current struggle, but argues that because:

> In more than three years of spasmodic activity the guerillas have failed to destroy a single bridge, blow up a power line or petrol bomb a police post . . . It would seem reasonable therefore to forecast that white rule of an uncompromising kind will survive indefinitely in Rhodesia.

And as far as the accerating struggles in Angola and Mozambique are concerned:

> It can be assumed that Portugal will hold tenaciously to its southern African territories . . Only through some upheaval in Lisbon is there likely to be a radical change in Angola and Mozambique.
> . . . . Therefore it is unlikely that Zambia can look forward to any early improvements in relations with the four white run countries . . . unless Zambia itself changes course politically.

It is astonishing how many astute and sympathetic observers completely collapse when it comes to weighing the progress of a people's struggle against the initial achievements of their guerrilla movements. Despite a wealth of recorded experience of liberation struggles (involving in their formative stages the agonisingly slow and patient process of winning popular support, educating and training, the acquisition of arms and the gradual escalation of armed confrontation), writers like Mr. Hall still tend to make their calculations of success subject to evidence of early, if not instantaneous, and dramatic results.

Beginning with the armed struggle, it took Giap's forces ten years to defeat the French in Vietnam. It has taken a comparable period to defeat the Americans in Vietnam. In neither case were the early years of the respective struggles marked by great successes. On the contrary, and this is true of struggles elsewhere as well, very often it is not success but setback which marks the infant years of revolutionary movements.

As a result of his lack of understanding and underestimation of the liberation movement, not only in South Africa and Rhodesia but in Mozambique and Angola as well, Mr. Hall can offer no solution to Zambia's problem. Indeed, he is led to regard it as inexorable; as 'a paradox which must be endorsed.' But the key to solving Zambia's problem lies precisely in her ability to defend her independence, to stand on principles, to support and succour the guerrilla fighters It is through resistance, not capitulation to Vorster and Smith that Zambia's future will be secured and it is through the increasing development of the guerilla struggle that the racist stranglehold on Southern Africa will be relentlessly prised loose.

This criticism apart, Richard Hall has written an interesting and important book, the bulk of which is not in the least spoilt by his speculative and defeatist concluding chapter. His experience of and sympathy with Zambia are everywhere manifest. He gives not only a fascinating insight into Zambian politics and Kaunda's leadership, but also a revealing analysis of the mind-boggling machinations and intrigues of imperialism in its bloody scramble for profits in Southern Africa.

His declared aim is to show how in recent years, particularly since UDI, Zambia's position has shifted from being the spearhead of the African revolution aimed southwards, to her present knife-edge existence on the 'white Maginot line'. The central theme of the book is the dilemma of Kaunda and his government faced with the unenviable choice between raapprochement with white supremacy and resulting economic subservience on the one hand, and principled confrontation involving great sacrifiċies, even invasion, on the other. He considers that 'In any way of attrition, it would become Africa's North Vietnam'.

He rightly regards it as essential to consider Zambia's involvement in

the UDI problems as part of the wider context of South Africa's expansionist aims in Africa. He carefully traces and documents the crucial role played by South Africa, beginning with the bizarre history of the growth and demise of the British South Africa Company with its all-enveloping control of the Zambian economy. ('It was not even permitted for Africans to dig sand from a river bed without making a payment to Chartered.') From the first years of independence, in the face of Vorster's counterattack, to the now familiar events leading up to and after UDI, increasing pressure and strain has been imposed on Zambia's political and economic life, largely levered by South African sanction-busting and more latterly by the threat of South African invasion to destroy guerrilla bases.

Parallel with these events Mr. Hall describes vividly British duplicity and the Labour government's continuing betrayal of the Zambian and Zimbabwean people. The scope of the book is wide-ranging and perhaps some of the most interesting material is contained in discursive but illuminating chapters which deal, inter alia, with Kaunda's background and personality, his Pan-Africanism, and his special relationship with Nyerere. But perhaps the most revealing is the chapter on the TANZAN railway, for here Mr. Hall throws light on the positive alternatives open to Zambia through turning to the socialist countries for economic aid.

S. Whitman

AFRIKANER NATIONALISM AND FASCISM

The Rise of the South African Reich by Brian Bunting (Revised and Extended) Penguin African Library 15s.

With the imminent extension of the armed struggle in Southern Africa to South Africa itself, it is imperative for us South Africans and for the world to understand clearly the nature of the South African state. Brian Bunting helps us to do this. He has brought up to date his invaluable analysis of the growth of the Afrikaner national state, the first edition of which took us up to 1964.

These last years, 1964-69, are particularly significant because they confirm and extend Bunting's original analysis, and make logical the development of South Africa's new aggressive, imperialist role in Africa.

Today, many people outside South Africa, still see the Afrikaner as a 'plaasjapie', backward, crude peasant, who because of his backwardness, has strange ideas about race, and they tend to treat this image with contempt and even some laughter. Bunting's book is extremely useful in correcting this picture, for he shows how consistently fascism has been built in South Africa on the basis of the extension of Afrikaner organisations, such as the Broederbond (Association of Brothers), which

was formed as early as 1918, and which worked behind the scenes to increase the influence of the Afrikaner in all fields, to get him into key positions in local politics, business and cultural organisations, to spread the ideas of Afrikaner nationalism throughout South African society, as a prelude and a base for the capture of political power by Afrikaner 'Christian Nationalism' and once in power to maintain that base. Bunting traces the class basis of this nationalism:

> The Nationalist Party is a typical 'bourgeois' party whose leading members have never shown any reluctance to enter commerce and industry and make profits just like their counterparts in other national groups. Nevertheless, it has always masqueraded, in the same way that the Nazi movement did, as the party of the workers–though only the White workers of course. And there is no doubt that it has won the support of many White workers by following policies which have buttressed their economic and social postion, if at the expense of the rest of the community.

It was necessary for the aspirant Afrikaner capitalist to gain the support of a section of the working class. Without this alliance Afrikaner capitalism would not have been able to take power. The ideology and tactics of Afrikaner nationalism was not only directed at those capitalists who already dominated key sectors of the economy, and against other non-Afrikaner competitors and potential competitors (such as the Jewish and Indian businessmen); it was also useful as a means of drawing all Afrikaners of whatever class together under one umbrella. Bunting points out that one of the objects of the Reddingsdaadbond (formed in 1939 in Bloemfontein) was 'to make the Afrikaans labourer part and parcel of the Nationalist life and to prevent the Afrikaans workers developing as a class distinct from other classes in the Afrikaans national life.'

An extended chapter in this revised edition, entitled 'The Conquest of Economic Power', makes it clear how aspirant Afrikaner businessmen fought against all non-Afrikaner competitors and used the ideology and tactics of Afrikaner nationalism to grasp and possess sectors of the economy for the accumulation of capital. Bunting shows how the Afrikaner, capitalists used state power to achieve this aim. The majority of the farmers in the 'white areas' of South Africa are Afrikaans-speaking and support the Nationalist Party. It was thus logical that the State, particularly under the Nationalists, should have given constant support to the white farming community. It has subsidised agriculture (white), often at the expense of the mining industry. Money accumulated in the farming sector has been used to build 'Afrikaner' industry, commerce and finance, as have the taxes obtained from the mining industry the railway tariff system and other sources.

Afrikaner capital has used the state to secure and entrench itself in

the South African economy.

> State control over a certain sector of the economy is common to a number of capitalist countries, but in few has it progressed as far as in South Africa, where the State owns or controls, land and forests, post, telegraphs and telephones, railways and airlines, broadcasting and a host of other public services.

The State has entered the field of private industry in electric power generation (Escom), printing, the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the production of iron and steel (Iscor), heavy engineering (Vecor), insecticides, oil, gas and chemicals from coal (Sasol), and fertilisers (Foskor). Through the Industrial Development Corporation, the state has become, together with private capital, a permanent shareholder in a host of industries, mining and finance, aircraft manufacture, oil, textiles, shipping etc.

Afrikaner capitalism has intensified the exploitation of the non-white workers. Brian Bunting deals with this aspect in a chapter which he has added to the new edition of his book: ('The Other Side of the Boom: African Living Standards.') He shows how 'the wealth of the Republic is extracted at the cost of the blasted lives and health' of the non-white people. This chapter should be taken together with the chapter on 'South Africa's Nuremberg Laws', which carries the picture of the vast armoury of South Africa's Fascist laws, directed above all against the African people. For those who want to obtain a quick picture of these laws this is an extremely useful summary. We see here how the Afrikaner bourgeoisie have further used the State to build their economic power by using the Pass Laws and an armoury of vicious laws to direct the African labour supply where they most require it, and to ensure by all methods that the African people, together with the other non-white peoples, remain rightless and voteless, without recognised trade unions, so that they can be shunted here there and everywhere, to fit in with the labour and industrial pattern best suited for accumu lation of profits. Butning shows, too, how all the progressive organisations have been outlawed, and the terrible tortures used in the attempt to smash all the people's organisations forced underground by State terror.

S.A. IMPERIALISM

The Afrikaner, as Bunting has proved and documented with such care and clarity, has not only become a capitalist—no longer the 'hill-billy' character with a 'vacant expression and tattered clothing'—but he has now imperial ambitions. This is the subject of an extremely significant section in the new edition of his book. He quotes Vorster, the South

African Prime Minister, as saying in November, 1968, 'We are of Africa, we understand Africa . . . and nothing is going to prevent us from becoming the leaders of Africa in every field'. Bunting shows the extent to which South African capital and technological 'aid' has penetrated Southern Africa. South Africa's exports to her traditional trading partners in Europe and America consists of raw materials and the products of primary industries, in fact the typical exports of a colony to the metropolitan country. But White South Africa today is no longer a colony. Its highly developed and closely integrated mining, financial and industrial bourgeoisie, in the ultimate stage of monopoly capitalism seek markets for manufactures (particularly necessary since the domestic market is limited by the overriding need to keep African wages down) and outlets for capital investment elsewhere. This is the real dynamic behind South Africa's expansionism-witness the lawless seizure of Namibia—and aggressive militarism.

As South African progressive movements have warned for many years, South Africa's imperial ambitions are a real threat to world peace. Pretoria's threats against Zambia and Tanzania, her military links with Portugal (and thus NATO), her frenzied war-preparations, her military adventures in Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique, all serve to underline the analogy contained in Buntings's title—the parallel between Hitler's Reich in the forties and Vorster's Reich in the seventies. (Yet further light on the country's military build-up is contained in Abdul Minty's pamphlet *South Africa's Defence Strategy*, available at 2s. 6d. from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte St., London W.1.) The potential of fascist South Africa as detonator of a Third World War dare not be overlooked.

Brian Butning, who was awarded the 1961 prize of the International Organisation of Journalists, writes extremely well. His painstaking research is matched by his ability to fire off his facts and figures, and his quiet analysis, with a passion and hatred of the vicious system to whose overthrow he is so deeply committed. His dedication of this book 'to all South Africans who are fighting against enormous odds to free their country from unendurable tyranny' makes it clear from the start that here is no dispassionate commentator.

One could say, perhaps, that in his single-mindedness he has not sufficiently dealt with the involvement of foreign capitalists, and in particular the vicious role of British imperialism in Southern Africa, and its complicity in the white supremacy regimes. Nor does he say enough about the sorry part played by non-Afrikaner whites who in one way or another are willing partners, past and present, Afrikaner nationalism and British imperialism have long been allies in the oppression and exploitation of the African, Coloured and Indian people of South Africa.

To some extent, Bunting's book assumes an international line-up which does not exist. He seems to be saying to the imperialists: 'This is the nature of the Afrikaner fascist state; you are misguided in maintaining your relations and support for it.' But the development of the armed guerilla struggle in Southern Africa is making it increasingly clear just where the imperialists stand.

They are certainly no friends of the African liberation movements. It is no accident that the most recent period has rapidly disillusioned those of their members who once believed they could count on the support of Western governments (as opposed of course to the advanced and democratic sections of the people in those countries.) They are looking rather to their true allies—the peoples of independent Africa, the socialist community of states whose mainstay is the Soviet Union, and the anti-imperialist movements of the whole world. Our national democratic revolutaion is indeed rapidly being recognised, and discovering itself, as an integral and important front in the international struggle against imperialism.

Has not the writer, in fining his sights too narrowly on Afrikaner nationalism, tended to overlook its close links and dependence on the whole system of international imperialism—of which it is, after all, a particularly revolting outgrowth? Brian Bunting might well retort that this was not the object of his book, which was to place the 'South African Reich' under the microscope. In that object, indeed, he has succeeded admirably.

Teresa Zania

THE VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Loud explosions were heard simultaneously in the crowded central areas of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth East London and Durban on the evening of 14 November last, as thousands of African workers were returning from work. Thousands of leaflets were scattered in the air and floated down to the crowds. They contained a message from the African National Congress, illegal since 1960. Hidden loudspeakers broadcast the voice of the A.N.C., preceded by the singing of the national anthems. The incident was widely reported in the South African press. We print here a transcription of the broadcast.

This is the African National Congress. this is the voice of freedom.

The time has come. This Government of slavery, this Government of oppression, this apartheid monster must be removed from power and crushed by the people. It must be removed by force.

They will never stop the pass raids, the arrests, the beatings, the killings . . . they will continue to drive us out of our homes like dogs and send us to rot in the so-called Bantu homelands, they will continue to pay us miserable slave wages and treat us as their beasts of burden until the day we beat them and crush white rule.

This land of ours, was taken away by bloodshed. We will regain it by bloodshed.

Sons and daughters of Africa, you in your millions who have toiled to make this country rich, the ANC calls upon you: Never submit to white oppression; never give up the freedom struggle; find ways of organising those around you. The African National Congress calls you to be ready—to be ready for war.

You will soon learn how to make a petrol bomb. You will also learn how to shoot a gun. You must learn how to outwit the enemy, his spies and informers, and organise those around you. We are many, the whites are few.

Our Coloured and Indian brothers must do the same. You must organise your people to fight the ghettoes and all the racial laws and in support of the armed struggle.

We say to the enemy that we will not be bluffed by your toy parliaments like Matanzimas, like the Coloured Council and like the Indian Council. We want freedom now—real freedom.

But the whites will not give it to us. We have to take it. We have to take by violence. We fight a guerilla war.

A guerilla war is not a war of big

armies. We have no big army. We organise ourselves into small groups. We attack the enemy suddenly when he is not expecting us. We kill them and we take their guns and we disappear.

Our brave young men have shown the way in their heroic battles in Rhodesia. Today they fight in Rhodesia; tomorrow they will fight in South Africa.

The young men are showing the way. They are fighting the white racialist armies in Angola, in Mozambique, in Rhodesia.

The African National Congress calls upon you to prepare for the guerilla war, the war of the liberation. The ANC calls upon you to help our young men, our freedom fighters.

We organise ourselves into small groups, we carry guns, suddenly we attack the enemy, we kill them and we take their weapons and we hide away . . . the forests, the mountains, the countryside, the people hide the young men.

Every one of you can help in this fight. Everyone can be a freedom fighter. In your factory, in your school, on the land, in your church—wherever you are among the people you must find a way of organising those around you.

If you work carefully you will be able to cheat the enemy and his spies and informers.

You must be prepared, you must be ready to sacrifice.

We refuse to live on our knees. We refuse to say: 'Ja Baas'. We must prepare to rise against the white oppressor.

Nelson Mandela [ANC leader serving a life sentence on Robben Island] said he was prepared to die for the freedom of our people . . .

Freedom lovers of South Africa, the time to fight has come. This is the message the ANC brings you . . .

The enemy fears our organised might.

They pay us low wages because our skins are black, while the white lives in luxury. At work, in the factories, the mines, the docks, the offices, the kitchens, the fields, the railways, the roads, we demand equal pay for equal work—now.

They charge us high rents, high taxes, high fares on the trains and buses. We must organise in the townships, and in the streets and on the buses, we must demand a better life now.

They give our children second-class eduction. We demand proper education that will enable our young people to be equal to other young people in the world.

In the schools our young people must organise to resist Bantu eduction. We demand free and equal education for all our children—now.

The whites have taken away the land of our people in the countryside, and have forced them to give up their cattle.

We must resist the Matanzima stooges, we must resist the Bantu Authorities Act in the countryside. We want our land back.

Our young men with guns will fight for it in the countryside. Our people in the countryside must be told of their coming.

They must hide and feed our freedom fighters. They must make their path easy and the enemy's path hard.

The ANC calls upon our people to prepare for guerilla warfare, the people's war of liberation—now. Guerilla war has brough victory to the people of Algeria, to the people of Cuba, to the people of Vietnam.

Those people did not have big armies. They were like us. Guerilla fighters organise themselves in small groups. Suddenly, when the enemy is not expecting them, they attack . . .

You sons and daughters of the soil, you must consider yourselves as soldiers in the guerilla war. There are many ways to be a freedom fighter

. . . . You must learn how to outwit the enemy and organise those around you.

The ANC calls on all the oppressed people to organise and struggle and prepare to fight in the town and in the countryside.

Our brave men of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—the ANC guerrilla organisation] have shown the way. They fought heroically in Zimbabwe [Rhodesia]. They will fight in South Africa.

You must start to find places where you can hide the weapons you might come across. You must have secret addresses of your reliable friends who will agree to hide you or your weapons or other freedom fighters . . .

The countryside, the bush, the forest, the mountain—these will also become your secret addresses.

The time has come. The ANC calls upon you to organise and to prepare. Death to racialism!

Mayibuye iAfrika! [Come back Africa] Amandla! [Power]

NEW LIGHT ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Fresh light on the much-debated events in Czechoslovakia was cast by the important report of the Presidium of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, delivered by its First Secretary, Dr. Gustav Husak. The following extracts of this important report are reprinted from Rude Pravo of September 26, 1969

The experiences of the past four or five months compel us to go back to our recent and earlier development and to explain once again the main stages of development of our society and state . . . . The May Plenum of the Central Committee instructed the Presidium to prepare an analysis of developments in Party and society both before and after January 1968. The Presidium has formed a committee of its members, and work on the analysis is under way.

With regard to the period after January 1968 we see two extremes. On the one hand, the anti-socialist forces and Right wing opportunists tried to defame the more than twenty years' effort of our Party and people in building a socialist society. Surely that is not a truthful view of long years of effort and devoted work by millions of our people and hundreds of thousands of honest Party members.

Led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, we removed the exploiter classes in our country, the factory owners, bankers, big landed proprietors and various other parasitic groups, which lived by exploiting the working man. The industrial potential of our country grew several times over. Great improvements were brought about in the working people's standard of living, in social conditions and medical care, and the cultural standard went up very noticeably. Poverty in the countryside was eliminated by reorganising agriculture on cooperative lines.

The Czechoslovakia of today is a developed state, one that in every respect stands higher by far than did the bourgeois state twenty five or more years ago. Only enemies of the socialist system, enemies of the new condition of the working class and other working people, can fail to see these results, can ignore or deny them. We will continue our work with due regard to the positive results of our socialist development. We will maintain continuity in the work of our Party and state in relation to all that was good, sound and positive. This is one aspect of the matter.

Another aspect is that as socialist development and the class struggle went on in our country there piled up many serious mistakes and shortcomings injuring the Party's Policy and the progress of our society and resulting in many of our citizens being wronged. The Party has rejected and condemned the gross violations

of the law committed in the fifties, the frame-ups and repression against Party members and other citizens and the unwarranted administrative measures. It has begun to make good the resulting damage and mistakes, and will continue to do so.

NOVOTNY PERIOD

However, there are also many other mistakes dating from the time when the Party was led by Antonin Novotny, mistakes which caused stagnation and crisis in the most diverse spheres of our society. The Novotny leadership could not react in a principled manner to the new trend which developed in the world Communist movement between 1953 and 1956 and projected itself into some conclusions and initiatives of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It lacked the courage openly to admit the shortcomings and mistakes that had accumulated, to analyse them in Marxist fashion and set out vigorously to eliminate them.

One of the main reasons for this was paralysation of the class approach to problems and the slackening of ideological work and active education of the Party membership and other working people. Education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism was slackened and nothing was done to solve acute problems of the relations between our peoples and national minorities.

The Novotny leadership made up for shortcomings in ideological and political work by using bureaucratic methods of leadership in Party and state and by administrative meddling. On the other hand, the unprincipled opportunism of that leadership enabled Right-wing forces, especially in the ideological and cultural spheres, to take root and organise and to shape their opportunist and revisionist trends and objectives in and outside the Party. Due to the subjectivism of Novotny and his surrounding, urgent problems bearing on the economy, the national policy, rehabilitation, and so on, were not solved. On the other hand, the progress of society was idealised and unrealistic slogans were put forward skimming a whole stage of social development, and this at a time when problems and difficulties weighing heavily on the Party rank and file and other upright citizens were not solved.

The majority of our people welcomed the changes that came in January 1968. The purpose of the changes launched by the Party's Central Committee in January 1968 was to carry forward all the positive and good things achieved in previous years and remove all errors and mistakes, all barriers and obstacles, so as to make full use of every objective advantage of the socialist social system in our country and solve urgent problems. It was a great historic chance for our Party and our people.

In April 1968 the Central Committee tried at its session to formulate these new objectives in the Action Programme, which, however, was affected by strong pressure from opportunist groups. The fundamental meaning of the post-January policy is still the starting point for shaping the Party's programme, even though it must be carried deeper theoretically, put right in many respects and made more specific, so as to be carried out step by step.

A MISSED CHANCE

We ask ourselves again and again why the great, historic chance we had after January 1968 was missed, why that period was marked by an attempt to disrupt the socialist system and put its foundations in jeopardy, and why it came to the August events of last year. First of all, it is necessary to realise, and our Central Committee said so in May, that the anti-socialist forces and

Right-wing opportunists in the Party did not first step forward after January 1968 but were in existence and active in a certain manner also prior to January 1968, and that the opportunist policies of the Novotny leadership made their activity and their effort to organise considerably easier. The core of these forces organised before January 1968, and after January it set out as a second Party centre to realise its own schemes and aims.

The Party leadership elected at the January 1968 Plenum of the Central Committee and then modified in composition at last year's April Plenum was politically heterogeneous and lacked unity. Spokesmen of the Right-wing opportunist forces had infiltrated it, it lacked a clear-cut concept and did not draw firmly on the working class and on Marxist-Leninist analysis for support. Nor was it guided with a firm and energetic hand. It was therefore unable to resist various dangers and social pressures. Some of these pressures were organised and some spontaneous, and they began to manifest themselves markedly in political life shortly after January 1968, growing more and more over the heads of the Party leadership of the time.

The Action Programme approved in April 1968, while containing fundamental programmatic postulates, includes vague compromise formulation that are concessions to Rightist influence. This is seen, for example, in the new formulation of the Party's leading role. As against the previous one-sided tendency to make an absolute of the directive instruments of power, in which the pre-January leadership often sought a remedy for its political impotence and inability, the Action Programme rejects the unity of political and power instruments in implementing the Party's leading role.

This came out clearly in the effort to influence the mass media. The Party leadership was virtually abandoning position after position in this field. It was giving in to the Rightist and anti-socialist forces in the mass media.

Most of the mass media became an instrument of the Right-wing forces that was uncontrolled and independent of the Party. Through them the Rightists systematically discredited the previous twenty years of socialist development in our country, people, ideas, achievements, the whole Party and its home and foreign policy. They rehabilitated and revived petty-bourgeois ideals of the bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic. They launched an extensive campaign against the Soviet Union and other close allies of our country.

At the same time the anti-socialist and Right-wing forces were active in a wide network of clubs— K 231, KAN and other legal, semi-legal and illegal societies and organisations. They had begun to infiltrate existing National Front organisations and were trying to bring them under their control. They had begun to revive Social Democracy and to publicise the theory of a 'pluralistic' democracy and, in other ways, the bourgeois-democratic model of society.....

People often ask: 'What is meant by anti-socialist forces? Who are the Right-wing opportunists?' The anti-socialist forces came out—overtly or covertly as the case might be—against the fundamental achievements of our Party and working people scored after February 1948. They tried to push our society back to the period before February 1948 and to the conditions of a bourgeois-democratic state. The wanted to put an end to our revolutionary development.

By their propaganda the Right-wing opportunists in the Party called in question and minimised such principles of our Marxist-

Leninist theory as the Leninist standards of Communist party organisation and life, the implementation of its leading role in society and in the political system, the internationalist character of the Party and its foreign relations, some fundamental aspects of the economy of the socialist state, and so on. From petty-bourgeois, Social- Democratic or even anarchist positions, they criticised and condemned the theoretical and practical experience of the world Communist movement and of our own Party, and using the mass media, inculcated their views on people, including Party members, under demagogical catchwords calling for abstract freedom, democracy, humanism, etc.

These forces campaigning for their "new model" of socialism with various attractive adjectives condemned the entire past of our Party and used every opportunity to provoke disputes, conflicts and criticism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist and Workers' parties of other Warsaw Treaty countries. They encouraged and fomented anti-Soviet and nationalist passions, slandered brother parties and countries, and so on.

Sometimes we were afraid to use the phrase "counter-revolutionary forces" because we imagined that counter-revolution always means direct armed struggle against the revolutionary forces of the working class, shooting, killing, etc. But since we regard the labour movement adhering to Marxist-Leninist principles and led by the Communist Party as the main revolutionary trend of modern society, the forces antagonistically opposed to this movement and to the main goals of the revolutionary movement have always been—objectively they were also in our case—counter- revolutionary forces irrespective of the stage reached by their actions or of the actions they were allowed to launch.

Thus political development in our Party and state after January 1968 was diverted from the right path of socialist development according to Marxist-Leninist principles and grossly deformed. This was a result of the disunity, unpreparedness and partly the inability of the Party leadership, a result of the aggressive, purposeful and organised action of the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces, holding the mass media and a number of positions in Party and government. The Right-wing and anti-socialist forces kept on forcing it into compromises, concessions and we may say, even reverses.

BROTHER PARTIES

The inner political conflicts could not but tell, among other things on the relations between our Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the brother parties of the other Warsaw Treaty countries concerned, on the relations between our state and its allies. This chapter in the history of the post-January period was hardly known until recently to the Party membership and the general public.

Today we present to the full and alternate members of the Central Committee important and decisive confidential documents about the relations between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties, so that they may judge for themselves the evolution of these relations.

It is already known that the brother parties publicly welcomed the changes which occurred in Czechoslovakia after January 1968.

However, development in our country proceeded as we have briefly described it. Alarmed by this development and fearing that the whole socialist camp was in danger, six Communist parties met in Dresden on March 23, 1968. The minutes of

that conference, which are available to the Central Committee members, show how earnestly the representatives of brother parties pointed to the dangerous trend of development in Czechoslovakia, how they advised and asked the spokesmen of our Party to ensure that the Party leadership stemmed the subversive activity of Right-wing and anti-socialist forces. Neither the Party nor the general public was informed of the results of that conference, any more than of the promises we have given. Indeed, information was withheld from even the CC Presidium as a whole, and no lessons or conclusions were drawn.

After numerous other meetings and talks a new conference was held in Moscow on May 4, 1968, between a CPC delegation and representatives of the CPSU. The minutes show how earnestly the attention of our spokesmen was called again to the danger threatening socialist development in Czechoslovakia and the whole socialist community.

After that conference the CC CPC at its May Plenum tried partially to remedy the situation. But it did not go beyond noncommittal declarations. In fact, the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces in June 1968 mounted a full-scale counter-offensive. There is no doubt that our Party and our working class were strong enough to check the onslaught of the Rightist and anti-socialist forces. They were strong enough to curb the anti-Soviet hate campaign (for example, over the allied troop manoeuvres under the Warsaw Treaty) provided the Presidium drew conclusions from its own experiences and from its meetings with the brother parties, and provided it was at one in estimating the situation and worked with energy. This was also evident from the ambiguous and inconsistent reaction of some members of the leadership to the Rightists' provocative appeal "Two Thousand Words", from the leadership's attitude of resignation towards the mass media and the overall spineless behaviour of the leading Party body, in which spokesmen of the Right-wing elements were becoming more and more aggressive.

This behaviour of the leadership could not but affect the Party.

In that situation, on June 12, 1968, Comrade Brezhnev wrote to Comrade Dubcek again, with the knowledge of the Political Bureau of the CPSU, calling his attention to the trend of development and proposing a meeting, a conference and consultations with a Czechoslovak delegation anywhere. Comrade Dubcek rejected the meeting on various pretexts.

MEETING REJECTED

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the four other fraternal parties proposed to us a meeting in Warsaw early in July.

On July 8 and 12, 1968, our Party leadership rejected a meeting of the six parties on the plea that bilateral talks should be held first. It evaded that meeting for fear of criticism of shortcomings in our development, as well as out of megalomania and under the pressure of nationalist propaganda in the mass media.

On July 12 Comrade Dubcek was informed by the Soviet ambassador in the CS that a meeting of the six parties was being called in Warsaw on July 14. He did not inform of this fact even the members of the leadership.

On July 13 Comrade Dubcek met Comrade Kadar in Komarno, where he was again informed of the planned conference and was earnestly asked to ensure that the CPC took part in the Warsaw conference. Nevertheless, no CPC delegation attended the Warsaw conference of Communist Parties.

Thereby our Party leadership demonstrated to the world an open

rupture with the leadership of the CPSU and the four other fraternal parties and aggravated its isolation from its closest allies. Its decision aroused nationalist and anti-Soviet sentiments, which the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces spread far and wide among the public. Thus it identified itself with the false idea of "unity of the whole people" which the Right and anti-socialist forces were advocating as their ideological basis from nationalist and anti-Soviet positions.

From the Warsaw meeting, which the CPC did not attend, the five parties sent the CC CPC a collective letter which they published in the press because the contents of earlier talks had been kept from the public. The letter, like the meetings with our Party leadership preceding it, stressed that its writers supported the positive objectives of the post-January period.

At the same time the letter expressed serious concern about the increased activity of hostile anti-socialist forces trying to divert our country from the Marxist-Leninist path—building socialism—and to sever it from the socialist commonwealth. There were ample reasons for this criticism of our development, as we know. The brother parties emphasised the need to consolidate our Party on Marxist-Leninist principles, to respect the principles of democratic centralism and fight those whose activity was helping hostile forces.

We cannot regard those warnings and that advice as anything but comradely help offered to the Party leadership of the time. Had the Party leadership been willing and able to lean on the support of the sound forces of our Party, the working class and other working people and to use the aid offered by the brother parties, development in our country even at that time would have taken an entirely different course. But the CPC leadership replied to the Warsaw letter of the five parties by rejecting their overall estimation of the gravity of the danger threatening us. By then the Right-wing forces had largely assumed control of the preparations for the Extraordinary 14th Congress.

Our Party leadership refused to use power instruments against the anti-socialist forces, arguing that this would have meant falling back on the "directive methods of Party leadership" of the Novotny era. In his report to the Central Committee, Comrade Dubcek explaining the reply to the letter of the five parties, said that the anti-socialist forces presented no serious danger in that situation as the brother parties supposed and that there was a real danger from the Left. Unfortunately the Central Committee on July 19, 1968, approved the activity of the Presidium and reaffirmed its rupture with the five brother parties and its open demonstration against them. Thereby the internationalist principles of the policy of our Party were violated and our Party leadership found itself on a platform determined by Rightist elements.

We consider the Presidium resolution in connection with the Warsaw conference and its approval by the Party's Central Committee to be one of the gravest errors in our internal and particularly our international relations, for which the Party leadership of the time, especially Comrade Dubcek, then First Secretary of the Party, are responsible. The Presidium therefore, proposes to this session that the Central Committee fully revoke its own resolution of July 19, adopted under growing psychological, moral and public pressure from the Rightists. We must say in so many words that the refusal to take part in the Warsaw conference was a serious mistake, a move running counter to the fundamental interests of socialism in our country and the internationalist traditions of our state.

DANGEROUS COURSE

After that rupture political development in our country organised by the Rightist and anti-socialist forces and influenced by the upsurge in nationalism continued on a dangerous course. It was in that atmosphere that preparations for the congress went on. A new attempt was made to settle the open international conflict at the bilateral talks between the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Presidium of the CC CPC at Cierna nad Tisou from July 29 to August 1, 1968. Leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union tried again, as the documents circulated to the members of the Central Committee reveal, to induce our leadership to remedy the situation and bring about a turn in it by taking measures against the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces. The meeting of the six parties in Bratislava on August 3, 1968, and their joint declaration afforded an opportunity to settle the conflict with the brother parties and call a halt to the disastrous course of development. In Bratislava our Party leadership solemnly reaffirmed its internationalist commitments towards towards the socialist community. In reality, however, it did not take a single step after the adoption of the declaration to carry out the undertakings it had given with a view to maintaining the interests of socialism in our country and those of the socialist camp, which were threatened.

There were other attempts to call the attention of our Party leadership to its responsibility for failing to honour its commitments and to the damgerous course of development in our country. On August 13, 1968, the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU again called the attention of our leadership to the fact that it was not carrying out the agreement reached at Cierna. The same day Comrade Brezhnev wrote about it to Comrade Dubcek, pointing earnestly to the dangerous course of development in our country and reminding him of our duty to honour our commitments.

Even the members of our Party leadership were not informed of these documents.

On August 17 the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU sent an official letter to the Presidium of the CC CPC addressed to Comrade Dubcek, asking him immediately to inform all Presidium members about it. The letter expressed serious concern and apprehension about developments in Czechoslovakia.

The letter, received by Comrade Dubcek on August 19, was not answered and Comrade Dubcek did not inform the Presidium until August 20, when word had come of entry of allied troops into our territory, although the Presidium meeting opened at 1400 hours.

On August 17, on Comrade Kadar's initiative, Comrade Dubcek met him in Komarno, where Comrade Kadar again earnestly called attention to developments in Czecho slovakia and to the need for us to take energetic measures. That conversation, which lasted many hours, was likewise concealed from the Party leadership. Comrade Dubcek did not inform the CC Presidium about it until the second half of September 1968.

These are a few facts from the set of documents that have been circulated to you, the members of the Central Committee, for information and appraisal. They invite the conclusion that our Party leadership, and first of all Comrade Dubcek, neglected during those numerous talks with brother parties their fundamental obligations flowing from internationalism and the relations between Communist parties, from the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. Moreover, the fundamental duty of a high-ranking statesman to work for

the security of his country and the peaceful life of its people was likewise neglected.

It is safe to say that given a more responsible method of guiding our Party policy it would not have come to the entry of troops into our territory nor to August 1968 with its political and psychological complications and effects at home and abroad.

After those talks and the endless promises that were not kept the leadership of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties lost political confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, above all in its First Secretary. They no longer believed that these leaders were willing—or able— to check the dangerous course of development in Czechoslovakia.

ENTRY OF TROOPS

Alarmed by developments and apprehensive for the preservation of socialism in Czechoslovakis in view of the danger of a political upheaval, which Right-wing forces wanted to bring about at the coming extraordinary congress of the CPC, and concerned about the implications of these developments for the security of the socialist community—developments which might endanger the results of World War II in Europe that had cost so much blood—the allied countries resolved to send their troops into Czechoslovakia.

How responsibly did the Party leadership of the time approach the situation and the destiny of our people in that hour of trial? Apart from realistic elements, such as the appeal to the Party and the people to remain calm and rational, the appeal to the armed froces not to resist the troops of the five Warsaw Treaty countries, the statement, which is known to the public, estimated the entry of the troops from a non-class, nationalist standpoint, contrary to internationlist responsibility and the Bratislava declaration.

Instead of looking for a realistic way out of the situation for the Party and the state and of immediately taking active steps, the Presidium adopted a demonstrative stance, describing the arrival of the allied troops on our territory as an act contradicting international law and the principles of relations between socialist countries. The Presidium had its point of view published at once. This meant in effect assessing the entry of allied troops into our country as an act of occupation, an attack on the sovereignty of our state and the freedom of our people.

Not by a single word did the Presidium or Comrade Dubcek speak of the preceding talks with the brother parties, of the undertakings given but not fulfilled, nor of the reasons for the step on which the allied countries had decided with a heavy heart because they saw no other way to safeguard socialist development in Czechoslovakia and eliminate the threat to the socialist community.

In that situation the Presidium and Comrade Dubcek did not—any more than in the decisive earlier days—take any steps to settle differences, clarify the situation or take energetic measures at home, which could have prevented that extraordinary action by the allied parties and countries. After the adoption of the Presidium statement the Central Committee members waited passively for further development.

By its statement and its entire previous attitude, which obscured the real state of relations, the Presidium politically misled the Party and people throughout the country, all the more since the arrival of allied troops did not come as a surprise to the smaller group of informed people, nor could it have. The Bratislava declaration of August 3, 1968, signed by leading figures in our Party, says: "To maintain, consolidate and safeguard these gains, won

through heroic effect and devoted labour by every people, is a common internationalist duty of all socialist countries. This is the unanimous opinion of all the participants in this conference, who express their unshakable determination to carry forward and uphold the gains of socialism in their countries and to score new successes in building socialism."

We have already spoken of the conclusions our Party leadership drew—or failed to draw— from this solemn declaration.

The Presidium's statement we have mentioned, particularly that part of it about "violation of international law", played into the hands of the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces controlling the press, radio and television. It prompted them to start a hostile campaign against the "invaders" and gave rise to resistance and chauvinist propaganda against the allied troops. It was a campaign for political struggle against and rupture with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for the international defamation of the USSR and the other countries.

The Presidium's statement also constituted a guide for the activity of the lower Party bodies and the branch organisations, which saw it as a signal for them to draw their own conclusions. The various agencies of the National Assembly, the government, mass organisations and other sections of our society formulated their positions in keeping with this line of the Presidium.

The Right-wing and anti-socialist forces having monopolised the mass media, and the whole Party and people being in a state of confusion, it is no wonder that many honest Party members, many Party organisations and committees and many upright citizens of our state were misled, that they lost their bearings and took an incorrect stand.

The hate campaign which the mass media were carrying on in those days and which had begun long before reached its peak. A group of people abroad, such as Ota Sik and Co., abused the opportunity for action abroad, including the UN Security Council.

Today we can state with a full sense of responsibility the following:

1. Had the Presidium of the CC CPC, especially its key functionaries and personally Comrade Dubcek, firmly led the Party on Marxist-Leninist principles in the post-January period, worked for the inner unity of the Party, seen to the implementation of democratic centralism and the leading role of the Party, drawn on the support of the working class and other working people and vigorously countered the anti-socialist and Right-wing forces, no such inner-Party and inner political struggle would have developed, nor would there have been so grave a crisis.
2. Had they proceeded during talks with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, necessitated by our internal development, from internationalist positions and with a sense of political and statesmanly responsibility, no allied troops would have entered our territory.
3. The arrival of the allied troops in that situation was prompted by the interests of safeguarding socialism in Czechoslovakia against the anti-socialist Rightist and counter-revolutionary forces, by the common interests and security of the socialist camp and the class interests of the working-class and Communist movement. It was by no means an act of aggression against the Czechoslovak state and people. It did not mean occupation of the Czechoslovak territory nor suppression of freedom and the socialist system in our country.

That is why we regard the Presidium's statement of August 21,

1968, as far as its decisive part is concerned, as non-class, un-Marxist, basically wrong, and harmful to our Party, our peoples and our state owing to its political implications. Our lower Party committees, public and other bodies, which in August 1968 based their wrong positions on the Presidium's statement of August 21, have cancelled, revoked or revised the views they held at the time.

The Presidium moves that this session of the Central Committee revoke for the reasons we have listed the statement of the Presidium of the CC CPC of August 21, 1968, because it is basically wrong even though some of its parts are more realistic in content. Through the proposed decision of the Central Committee we wish to correct before the Party, our people and the world Communist movement one of the fundamental mistakes of the post-January leadership of our Party and to enable a large number of honest Party members and citizens of our state to rectify their wrong positions of August 1968 after familiarising themselves with the facts. Thereby we also wish to contribute, in accordance with the truth and with verified fact, to the clarification of the so-called Czechoslovak question in the international Communist movement and to closer relations between our country and the Soviet Union and our other socialist allies.

Ever since World War II the freedom of our peoples, the independence of the Czechoslovak state and the guarantee of its socialist development have been based on alliance and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Elucidating and explaining the events of August 1968 make it possible successfully to continue this policy. The proposed decision, and rectification of the incorrect and erroneous step taken by our Party leadership on August 21, 1968, are our duty as Communists and Czechoslovak patriots.

After August 20 Comrade Ludvik Svoboda, President of the Republic, looked for a realistic way out of the exceedingly complicated situation. He took steps to clarify and normalise our relations with the Soviet Union and the other allied countries. This step of Comrade Svoboda and the delegation he led at the Moscow talks resulted in the signing of the Moscow Protocol on August 26, 1968. The Protocol was a continuation of the Bratislava declaration of August 3, 1968. It provided the starting point for resuming normal life in the country, the functioning of our Party and government bodies and public life as a whole. It continued the traditional friendly relations of alliance between our parties, peoples and countries.

CONFUSION AND CRISES

After the severe shock of August 1968 and the lessons which leading Party functionaries could and should have learned from it, one might have expected that our Party and state would deal energetically with the anti-socialist and Right-wing forces, that the Party would fully exercise its influence and its leading role, that it would take the mass media into its own hands and ensure the restoration of socialist order in our Party and country in accordance with the principles of its doctrine and the obligations flowing from the Moscow Protocol.

We regret to say that between August 1968 and April 1969 our entire Party, our society, its policy and economy, and the thinking of Party members and the mass of the population continued in a state of confusion and crisis.

The real reason for this was that the Party leadership continued in disunity its contradictory, vacillating and opportunist policy as it had done prior to August, that some of its members and the First Secretary of

the time could not bring themselves to take effective measures against the Right-wing and opportunist forces in the Party and against the anti-Soviet forces in society, could not muster courage and energy enough to influence and assume control of the mass media, defeat the anti-socialist and Rightist centres in Party and state and force them out of their extremely strong positions.

In fact, these forces, borne on the nationalist, anti-Soviet wave and benevolently protected by the Right-wing forces in the Party leadership, on the Central Committee and in other Party, government and economic positions, were becoming bolder and bolder, establishing control over whole spheres of the economy, of political life, the mass organisations, over whole echelons of the trade unions, youth organisations, the state apparatus, and so on.

In November 1968 an attempt was made through the November Resolution to provide a basis for uniting the Party, implementing its leading role and proceeding to consolidate the situation in Party and state. This resolution, like many others before it, was again torpedoed and nullified by the offensive of the anti-socialist and Right-wing forces. We saw this during the students' strikes in November 1968, during the campaign over Josef Smrkovsky and at the trade union congresses in December 1968, then again in January, February, and particularly late March 1969. These forces and vacillating and incapable members of the Party leadership were bringing the whole Party, our society and state to the brink of a tragic situation. We will have to make a detailed analysis of the activity of these forces, their internal and foreign centres, the interconnection between the various sections of the Rightist and anti-socialist forces, the foreign bourgeois intelligence services and the deliberate disruption in Czechoslovakia, in the CPC, in our politics, our economy, and so on.

In this respect, those eights months—from August 1968 to April 1969—were unprecedented in the socialist community. Prior to August 1968 one could speak, in the case of many political and other public figures, of naivete and illusions, of a "search for a new model". But what was going on in Czechoslovakia after August 1968 was unquestionably an organised Right-wing and counter-revolutionary campaign, a process of subversion in our Party and country.

A radical turn in the situation was brought about only by the April Plenum of our Party's Central Committee.

To restore the unity of our Party on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism we must persevere, according to the realisation guidelines of the May Plenum, in our day-by-day struggle against Right-wing opportunist forces and views in our Party. We must use specific arguments to win over and convince the vacillating and misguided members of our Party and rid it of people who persist in their wrong political and ideological attitudes or even, while holding the Party card, are carrying on an active fight against the Party's programme and political objectives. Today we are submitting to the Central Committee a number of proposals for expelling from the Central Committee those of its members who have abandoned Marxist-Leninist positions and compromised the Party at decisive periods, and who for a long time have made no effort either to discard serious mistakes or to help the Party in a difficult situation.

It must be said that assistance to branch organisations of the Party has been a serious defect to our activity to date. These organisations now constitute the main front of struggle against the influence of Right-wing opportunist forces.

PARTY UNITY

How soon we succeed in solving all the other problems of our society will depend on how soon we establish order in the Party—an efficient Party united on a principled basis. This is why we will devote increased and extraordinary attention in all organisations to the re-establishment of Party unity.

With regard to Party unity we must say that here and there old sectarian tendencies also tell, making it difficult for us to advance and hampering our consistent struggle against Right-wing opportunism, the main danger. These are problems of long standing in our movement. Lenin spoke of them in 1921 in the draft resolution on Party unity he submitted to the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party. "Criticism of the Party's shortcomings, which is absolutely necessary," he wrote, "must be conducted in such a way that every practical proposal shall be submitted immediately, without any delay, in the most precise form possible, for consideration and decision to the leading local and central bodies of the Party. Moreover, every critic must see to it that the form of his criticism takes account of the position of the Party, surrounded as it is by a ring of enemies, and that the content of his criticism is such that, by directly participating in Soviet and Party work, he can test the rectification of the errors of the Party or of individual Party members in practice."

I remind you of these words of Lenin's because some of the non-Leninist methods and forms of work undermining Party unity and discipline, which is equally binding on all members, still carry over from the previous period of internal disunity in the Party.

We expect that at the end of this year the Central Committee will confer on beginning preparations for our 14th Congress. Inner consolidation and ideological unity of the Party are prerequisites of preparing and convening the Congress.

The rapporteur then dealt with a number of specific measures to intensify ideological activity in Party and society.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

At the last session of the Central Committee we also spoke about the situation in our national economy and certain principles and measures to remedy it. Our enemies abroad and the anti-socialist and opportunist forces at home are using our economic difficulties against the Party and our socialist system. It is well known that crisis phenomena in our economy became very marked as far back as the period between 1961 and 1964 and that they have not in substance been overcome since then. Last year Right-wing opportunist groups took advantage, among other things, of our economic problems to disrupt the whole system of economic management and weaken the leading role of the Party in the economy. They tried to substitute anarchy and arbitrary practices for planned economic management. Today they demagogically try to blame the new Party leadership for the damage caused to our economy by them throughout the past 18 months.

The stabilisation measures adopted by the government last May have in the past three months led to a certain improvement in economic results. However, the basic negative trends and imbalances in the economy have yet to be overcome. The Central Committee Presidium discusses economic matters systematically, at al most its every meeting. We have come to the conclusion that we need very important personnel changes in both the Federal government and the national governments, so that new people in key economic positions may solve our economic problems much more consistently and

energetically and with a far greater sense of responsibility. The Central Committee has before it appropriate proposals for changes in the Federal government and in the government of the Czech Socialist Republic.

We expect that these changes will lead to the speedy elaboration of a complete concept of planned economic management, of the entire structure of economic management in our state, to early completion of the plan for 1970, the drafting of the five-year plan and, first of all, to a vigorous effort to eliminate defects in production and distribution, to the increased activation of all sources, which in many places are not used.

We will fully and consistently restore the Party's leading role in the national economy, tighten Party and state discipline, and support the working people's initiative in every way. We are preparing an analysis of our economy, a concept of our economic policy and management system and the perspective of consolidating and promoting the economy. We believe the Central Committee Presidium will be in a position at the end of this year to submit the whole range of problems we have listed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

We began the year of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our peoples by the Soviet Army and the rebirth of the Czechoslovak state by celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Slovak National Rising. We want our people to commemorate the liberation of the CSSR in a peaceful atmosphere, in a consolidated state of Czechs and Slovaks and our national minorities. We have all that we need to surmount our political and economic difficulties, provide a realistic perspective of development for our socialist state, its economic and cultural advancement and the development of socialist democracy. The road to this perspective, which is not distant, was shown by the realisation guidelines of the May Plenum of the Central Committee. We have been following this road for four months and we are re-emphasising and specifying it today. Being the leading force of our society, the party of the working class, our Party must set by its work an example to all our working class people to bring about an early solution of our difficulties and problems. We call on the workers, peasants and intellectuals, on the older generation and young people, on the Communists and other citizens, on all who are not indifferent to the destiny and life of our peoples, to cooperate in this great effort for the consolidation and prosperity of our society and our state.

ON THE COLOURED PEOPLE

W. A. Malgas

Allow me to reply shortly to Comrade P. Mthikrakra and S. Dlandlayo who contributed on my article 'The Coloured People of South Africa.'

I am surprised at the host of misconstructions of opinions, and the amount of words put into my mouth, by these comrades. I can only take up their own hope and supposition regarding my article, that is that they distorted the sense in order to afford themselves an opportunity of arguing with me.

Permit me then to point briefly at their 'arguments'.

They are such that one finds it difficult to decide which should be given first preference. Let me say then, in the first place, that I have never disavowed the 'programmatic demand' put forward both in the Freedom Charter and the proposals of the South African Communist Party. But these are both generalised statements with regard to the minorities in South Africa. They are not specific analyses of the question of these minorities.

For instance, the SACP programme states, as the two comrades quote: '(the national democratic state must) uphold the rights, dignity, culture and self-respect of all national groups inhabiting our country.'

Agreed! But all I contend is that given equality, the Coloureds and Whites will no longer be separate minorities.

It is Mthikrakra and Dlandlayo who refer to the Coloured people as a 'national group'. They do not say why. But if they read their own quotations from the SACP programme they will see that nowhere do these quotations refer to the Coloureds in that way. And I do not believe it is only a matter of semantics.

Our comrades may rest assured that I have 'checked Marxist-Leninist writings on the national question.' Even if we should mechanically apply Stalin's definition of a nation, what would it prove? That allowed all the conditions for the formation of a nation as set out by Stalin, the English-speaking Whites and Coloureds, and the Afrikaans-speaking, will find themselves associating in the formation of nations? In the same

way as we foresee the eventual union of all groups comprising the South African people? And need we stop there?

I am also at a loss to see why the 'historic-biological' origin of the Coloured people quoted from E. Roux should be accepted as 'more correct' than the conclusions drawn by me from my own researches. After all, Roux was not dealing with the history of the Coloured people in 'Time Longer than Rope', and his references to their origin does not make the extract more authoritative. Nor do our comrades' statistics as to what percentage of Coloured belong to what church. They do not try to debate the 'psychological make-up, manifested in a common culture' of the people. So they cannot blame me if I suspect that they are merely attempting to score points.

I will not deal with all the other attempts, by way of quotations and historical data, to assail me, since they generally tend to support my contentions, rather than to dispute them.

However, I must state that in my ignorance I fail to see how the 'political struggle' is liquidated on the basis of an appeal to a 'greater consideration of the Coloured people's class position.' And to conclude bluntly that this 'class position' means 'Nothing but trade-unionism, **pure and simple**' (my emphasis) is, to say the least, fantastic. Why should the demand for 'no privileges however slight' mean only equal pay for equal work? That I seek to '**raise trade-union politics** (!) to a predominant position' is utter nonsense. And their allegation that I propose we must 'confine ourselves **only and mainly** to developing this particular means of struggle (strikes etc)' and turn away from 'armed detachments', is nowhere near the subject under discussion.

We are concerned with my contention (let us put it shortly) that under the equal status afforded by the democratic revolution, the White and Coloured communities will fuse to form English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking national groups, before the one unified South African nation revolves.

But the white people today are allies of the reactionary capitalist class which stands in the way of this unity which is the basic aspiration of the Coloured people since they are historically and culturally bound to their white counterparts. Only alliance with the African majority to overthrow the white ruling class will achieve this unity. As the original article states, inter alia, demonstrations of this alliance and attempts at 'national' organisations have been sporadic and inconsistent, because of there being 'no basis for the "national" struggle of the Coloured people' in the accepted sense of the word, such as exists in the case of the African people.

The Coloured are essentially part of the English and Afrikaans working class, discriminated against by way of their colour. Thus the

emphasis of the movement should be on the class position of the Coloured community in directing the 'national' struggle (if we must call it that).

So I find it strange that anybody advocating more attention to the class struggle can be accused of 'being led straight into the postions of the bourgeois nationalist.'

No, I will not continue to belabour the hodge-podge of word-spinning and misplaced quotations, as well as misrepresentations, which I am afraid forms the 'reply' of our comrades.

Far better that we hear more about the 'national question' as it concerns the Coloured community. It is not enough for our movement to talk of one-man-one-vote or to place on record the contributions of the Coloured people to the struggle for freedom.

I am pleased, however, to see that my contribution has provoked some attention to the question. This at least shows that we may be on the threshold of a debate that will stimulate further consideration of the destiny of 'God's Step-Children.'

Willem Abram Malgas

CONGRATULATIONS ON OUR TENTH BIRTHDAY

The Editors of *World Marxist Review* heartily congratulate the staff of the militant South African Communist Party journal *The African Communist* on its tenth anniversary.

Since the appearance of the first issue in October, 1959 your journal has disseminated in Africa the ideas of democracy, progress and socialism, firmly upholding the purity of Marxism and elaborating the topical problems of the revolutionary movements on the African continent from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint.

We wish your journal further success in its arduous and honourable struggle for the freedom of all nations and for peace and socialism.

K. Zarodov
Editor in Chief
World Marxist Review

Prague

We have just received the jubilee issue of *The African Communist*. On behalf of the staff of *Social Sciences Today* I warmly congratulate you on the tenth anniversary of the magazine and wish you success in your noble activities aimed at strengthening anti-imperialist unity and solidarity and at propagation of Marxist Leninist ideas on the African continent.

With comradely greetings and best wishes,

Joseph Grigulevich, D.Sc. (Hist.)
Editor-in-Chief
Social Sciences Today

Moscow

Please convey to all concerned my warmest congratulations on the 10th Anniversary of *The African Communist*. To have kept your journal going—and indeed flourishing—over this difficult period and in such difficult conditions, is an achievement of which you can well be proud.

My very best wishes for the future of your important and far-reaching work.

John Gollan
General Secretary
Communist Party of Great Britain

London

I like your periodical very much and am making propaganda for it in our periodical. I wish you all the best in your heroic fight.

Einar Olgeirsson
Editor,Rettur

Reykjavik
Iceland

I wish to take this opportunity to express my admiration for the work you are doing. I am a white South African and since my arrival in this country I have read every issue of *The African Communist*. Every time I have understood more and my heart fills with pride to know that this is my Party and my people who speak. I give my full support to the documents of the international Communist Parties' conference held in Moscow and the address presented there by Comrade J.B. Marks. The conference signified a tremendous step forward in the struggle against imperialism.

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